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ABSTRACT

This monograph contains six papers examining the field of adult education, especially in Finland and England. It explores how the body of knowledge and theory on adult education has developed and suggests where the profession of adult education and its students are headed. Titles and authors are as follows: "Legitimization in Adult Education: An Introduction to Recent Problems" (Matti Parjanen); "Certification and the Bureaucratic State" (Peter Jarvis); "Towards Transformative Evaluation of Training" (Antti Kauppi); "Work Organizations and the Expansion of Continuing Professional Education in Universities" (Mauri Panhelainen); "Lifelong Learning in Contemporary Society" (Peter Jarvis); and "Theories of Sociology of Education and Multiprofessional Education" (Matti Parjanen). Each paper contains a reference list. (KC)

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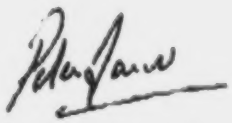

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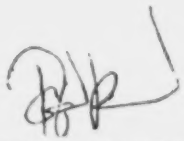

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LEGITIMIZATION IN ADULT EDUCATION
AN INTRODUCTION TO RECENT PROBLEMS

Matti Parjanen

There are over 1,000 adult education organisations in Finland and each year nearly two million people attend their courses. The majority of continuing professional education in Finland is provided by the private employers in business and industry. Currently they allocate FIM 2,500 million to education, while the public sector, that is the state, only spends about FIM 200 million on the continuing professional education of its employees. Private enterprises use 5–6 days per every salaried employee and worker for external and internal training. Per every 100 people there is at least one full–time or part–time instructor. (SVT 1990:2.) However, the higher the level of education, the more frequently it is provided by an institution of higher education, i.e. university. Universities have always been criticized for the fact that research results tend to remain within the walls of the university and are not rapidly enough transferred to working life. At the end of the 1960's it was decided that a new system should be created in which transferring new knowledge became the responsibility of a totally new area of education, namely that of continuing education. This marked the beginning of continuing higher education in Finland.

The following table depicts the activities of the whole field of adult education. It shows that the 1970's was a period of liberal adult education, while the 1980's was that of vocational or professional adult education. Will the 1990's be a period of depression and regression?

Table 1. The percentage of adult population in Finland who attended educational programmes in a year's time.

	1972	1980	1990
All adult education	20	26	44
Civic and workers' institutes	10	16	16
Other liberal adult education	3	10	11
In-service training by employers	5	13	19
Other vocational adult education	4	7	17

The theory of legitimization plays an important role in Finnish educational policy. Judicial and social legitimization requires that to be appointed to a public post the candidate must have a university degree. In the closed sector this problem is judicial, while in the private sector it is social. Since there are no national legal stipulations for legitimization in the labour market of the private sector, the qualifications are established by the employers and, in particular, by their recruiting officials. In Finland, all university degrees and their component parts have the same quality and social prestige. Until recently even the wording of the degree certificates and diplomas was determined by the Ministry of Education. In the 1990's, however, Finland is changing to a new system of educational legitimization. The long programmes (1 – 3 yrs) of the university continuing education centres have established their own legitimacy in the labour market. Consequently, a one-year continuing professional education course on top of an academic degree may have an identical legitimacy, prestige and status value to that of a traditional six-year university degree. However, such continuing professional education qualifications are often related to either the employer's own **credential** or the trade union's **unionistic** goals. In both cases the goal is to regulate the labour market and keep it under control so that legitimization would not be determined by the educational institutions or the job applicants themselves.

Table 2 shows how continuing professional education is growing in the Finnish higher education proportionally to the basic "degree studies". If we take account of only B.A.. and M.A. level studies, There are more students

(mostly part-time) nowadays in the centres of continuing education than in the faculties (mostly full-time). The ratio is then 100 000 / 97 000.

Table 2. Relative growth in the number of students in university education.

Year	Continuing professional education students	Change %	Open university students	Change %	B.A.., M.A. and Ph.D. level	Change %
1986	28 000		21 000		93 000	
1990	59 000	111 %	38 000	80 %	113 000	21 %

Source: Adapted from "KOTA-90". Research and Education Statistics. Central Statistical Office of Finland. 1991.

In-service training denotes any professional or trade union training provided in the form of a structured course, the costs of which are partly or entirely covered by the employer or with respect to which the participant receives compensation for his loss of leisure-time. The following figures include only employees aged 15-64 years.

Table 3. Employees attending in-service training in 1982-89 in Finland.

Year	Employees attending in-service training as a proportion of all employees	Average number of training days per year
1982	28.6 %	7.3
1984	30.6 %	7.4
1986	32.7 %	7.0
1989	43.8 %	6.0

Source: SVT 1991:11.

The Institute for Extension Studies of the University of Tampere collected data on "alternative" adult education. The data which was obtained by means of questionnaires reveal a surprising variety of different adult education examinations and modules. It is obvious that traditional legitimization models have been eliminated without the support of central planning. This kind of destructuring, coming from the field itself, may be considered a positive phenomenon because it means elimination of an excessively rigid set of rules and regulations. However, at the same time a generally accepted "system" may be lost which has provided legitimization, information and knowledge and has in that way helped the lives of the student, teacher and recruiter.

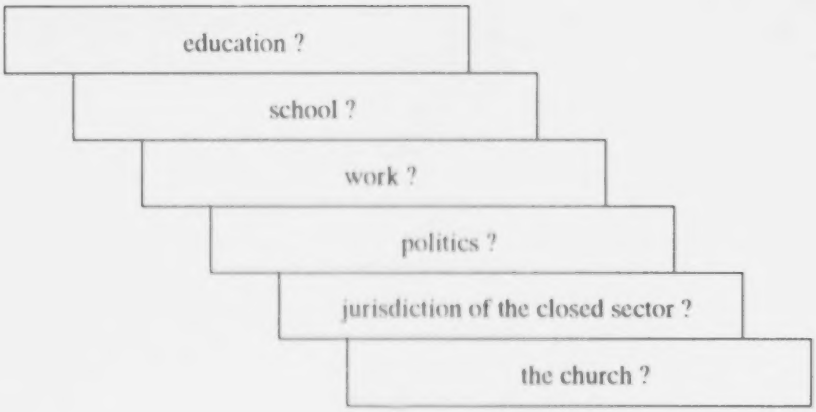
Those who have defended the so-called academic cultural university (it is interesting to notice that there is no English term for the German "Bildung Universität") have criticized the model which presents the university as a market-place of knowledge and competence. This kind of "**bazaar university**" is open in its organisation but is actually directed by market needs. In the bazaar culture everything is for sale: students, researchers, status, intellectual stimuli, etc. In Finland those circles which in the last few years, in particular, (together with European integration) have been waiting for the country to move from a controlled "semi-capitalistic" economy towards "pure" capitalism regard this kind of bazaar university as an ideal model: in it everything is converted into items that can be measured in terms of money. In the wake of a bazaar university, in Finland at least, there automatically follow a bazaar college, a bazaar workers' institute, a bazaar high school, a bazaar vocational school, and a bazaar summer university. Yet, amazingly enough, "a bazaar liberal adult education institution" is considered illogical. The whole Finnish educational institution has, unawares, become **a value invalid**: money has pushed all other values to the side. The educational institution thus lives the same kind of an uncertain life as the Eastern European countries which now have to deal with new money and new values. Higher education in Finland is also characterized by "**cultured greed**": the universities themselves with their basic functions represent the aspect of "cultured", while their continuing education centres are burdened with the practical measures required by the aspect of "greed". The business world does not always appreciate the fact that the rapidly changing knowledge and structure of competence in society require **both** extensive social and humanistic knowledge **and** knowledge of high

technology. Both are needed; otherwise we shall have **over-educated professionals and under-cultured citizens**. We could even go as far as to say that in Finland the technical fields "over-educate vocationally" and, at the same time, produce "under-cultured citizens". The situation in the humanities and social sciences is just the opposite. This kind of onesidedness of knowledge and values could be avoided by **cross-education**, of which the British polytechnics are a good example.

The problem of excessively narrow knowledge can also be avoided by means of **multiprofessional education**. In my second article for this publication, "Theories of Sociology of Education and Multiprofessional Education", I point out that when members of different health care professions have attended the same educational courses, their response has been dual: on the one hand, they have shown a great interest in these shared courses and have found them rewarding; on the other hand, these courses have also caused fear and anxiety among the participants. Emphasizing the features of **professionalism** may in some groups be a barrier to applying new models of adult education, for a special feature of profession is its tendency to **monopolize knowledge** and to make it into the "truth". An essential feature of professional knowledge is its legitimization by means of diplomas, certificates and exclusive licences. In this kind of expert system it is necessary that **knowledge is difficult to achieve and not easily available to just anybody**.

The French philosopher and quantum theorist Levy-Leblond has noted that **knowledge as such is of little significance! It is the ethical, political and social implications of knowledge that are meaningful**. How can such implications be taken into account in the legitimization of education? Who is responsible for "teaching" these implications?

Is it the institution of



Sociological studies show that Finland is currently experiencing a new class division which the institution of school seems to ignore completely, even though it is itself very much involved in shaping and moulding this new trend. Markku Kivinen (1989) has divided Finnish employees into three main categories according to their class: **1. The core of the new middle classes, 2. their peripheral groups, and 3. the traditional working class**. The first two groups have one quarter of Finns each, while half of Finns belong to the working class. The bourgeoisie accounts for only about 0.7 % of the population. Those in the core of the new middle classes are highly educated and earn large incomes. There is no solidarity between them and the working class. As the school institution has traditionally struggled for levelling out the earlier class distinctions, it is only fair to ask how it now relates to this new kind of class society. If professional continuing education functions to a growing extent as commissioned or sponsored education, it seems obvious that it is the core of the new middle classes that will receive more of this education than others.

When we analyze the significance of continuing education in the relationship of education and working life, two theoretical concepts may be of help, namely **the use value** and **the exchange value of education**. As described above, traditionally the Finnish system emphasizes the legitimizing effect of

education in the labour market. Moreover, there is a shortage of student places in universities, while the higher positions in public administration by law presuppose a Master's level of education. In this situation the exchange value of education gets more emphasis. The degree certificate alone is of great significance, especially since the Finnish university degrees in the same discipline are of the same value in terms volume and social prestige. The university continuing education centres have lately brought on the market new professional examinations which lack official legitimacy and have no traditional academic exchange value but which, however, possess a considerable use value. With the exception of business, the labour market continues to be traditionally rigid to such an extent that a conventional exchange-value degree with its academic symbols is required as the basis for a use-value qualification. Other vocational adult education institutes have also joined in to break down the traditional legitimization systems.

Table 4 shows a study made in the Institute for Extension Studies of the University of Tampere. Open University students were asked, what factors had made them start their present studies. It turned out that the students very much wanted to go on with their studies by changing from the adult education centre to the university faculty and that their goal was a "real" degree which would guarantee legitimization; women were more motivated than men, and people from higher social classes more motivated than those from the working class.

Table 4. **"Transferable credits leading to a degree" and their effect on studying in open university 1988.**
(Tampere University Institute for Extension Studies)

Effect:	men %	women %
no or fairly little effect	25	27
some effect	29	19
great or fairly great effect	45	54
total (100 %)	N=92	N=272

Effect:	bourgeoisie %	Identifies with: middle class %	working class
no or fairly little effect	25	25	32
some effect	11	24	24
great or fairly great effect	61	51	44
total (100 %)	N=44	N=202	N=66

Decades ago a university degree had a clear distinctive function, because the number of degrees conferred was small. Today the growing number of university degrees – some people say the university degree has suffered an inflation – has decreased this kind of automatic exchange value. From the point of view of pedagogics, emphasizing the exchange value means that students are no longer keen on learning new knowledge; instead, studying is **instrumental** to them: their only goal is the degree certificate. As a result, adult education programmes are now attended by a growing number of earlier instrumentalists who now have to be taught new methods of learning.

At the moment the adult and continuing education programmes (in Finland they are not referred to as "degrees") have, due to their scarcity, exchange value; as their number increases, however, this emphasis will change. Only such adult education the content of which is relevant from the point of view of the labour market will retain its use value. In all, it has to be noted that the borderline between the formal and real qualification is not very clear at the moment in Finland. A course in continuing education may bring one individual exchange value, but use value to another. There is also talk of distorted **promises of use value**, especially in commercial fields where continuing education programmes often involve unkept promises related to the use value of that particular education, or where education is too often seen as a product and it is sold, bought and marketed in accordance with product aesthetics irrespective of the content of the product. For example, universities of technology have attracted college graduated engineers who then begin to study according to their curicula, i.e. in higher education. These engineer students, however,

complain that the level of education in universities of technology is "too high" for them. The universities then have three alternatives: 1) They can reimburse the students' fees and cancel the course in question, 2) they can start basic educational courses which will last for years, or 3) they can lower the level of instruction. Market forces and internal cost-effectiveness oblige them to choose the last alternative. The next stage of development could be that an "easy" course (its diploma, however, having its own legitimization in the labour market and/or in postgraduate studies) would carry a higher fee. After all, such a course **would have a favourable input-output relationship**. Isn't that precisely what we should pay for?

The legitimization of education has been studied to a surprisingly small degree. Pedagogically oriented educational researchers have shown hardly any interest in this area. There are only about ten sociologists of education (Ph.D.) in Finland; problems of legitimization should be of great research interest to them. Actually, it could be intriguing to investigate, why they have not bothered to write on this topic. On the other hand, why are the problems of legitimization of education virtually unknown to the much more numerous sociologists of education in other countries?

The scarcity of research on legitimization makes it somehow more fascinating. When I look for studies of this field in the international data banks, I invariably come across the approach called **the crisis of habermasian legitimization**. Social scientists of the early 1990's expect this approach to collapse because of the unexpected survival of the bourgeois society. However, anyone who tries to analyze society seems once again to be on a dividing line: What will "the ideal society" be like next year? Sociology is a strange discipline. It is not even allowed time to study a social problem empirically and already that problem is considered a sign of "stagnation". For example, Finnish sociologists were for some time inspired by the radical doctrines of the French Bourdieu and the American Bowles and Gintis; however, before they had had ime to study them in depth, these doctrines were already judged to be outdated. At one and the same time, sociology thus tries to be the eternally faithful mother figure and the prostitute who keeps changing her partners. How should we handle sociology?

The theoretical, methodological and practical problem with regard to the legitimization of education is above all related to the fact that this phenomenon is so utterly **society and culture specific**. For example, in the Soviet Union the professional competence and the associated legitimacy of a Master's degree in business administration, environmental sciences or political history were different last spring from what they are today. In other words, the school system itself does not need to change when the legitimization of education changes as a result of gradual or abrupt social changes. A logical question follows:

Why bother trying to change school policy, if everything depends on social changes? This is what teachers in Finland are wondering. In the last few years they have anticipated all kinds of changes which have followed in the wake of the reforms of the comprehensive school, high school, higher education and, finally, the vocational university or polytechnic. Today the motto of a teacher should read: **Look out of the school window**! In the United States teachers have already been looking out of the school window and have even opened it in trying to make the American basic education into something "more efficient". In addition to the traditional three Rs, i.e. reading, writing and arithmetics, they have now developed **five new areas of competence** for their students: 1) allocation of resources, 2) flow of information, 3) human relations, 4) knowledge of social systems and organisations, and 5) familiarity with technological development. These qualifications are specifically stated by the Department of Labour of the Federal Government. In Finland all these qualifications are considered to be the tasks of adult education. As to competences required by school and the outside world, it is explicitly stated in Finland that a child who starts school must be able to tie his shoe laces, as well as to peel his potatoes. This requirement is clearly culture specific, for a child who is used to eating rice or mashed potatoes and wearing jogging shoes with Velcro fastenings will surely have difficulties in adjusting to the Finnish school system.

The new interpretations and theories of **the erosion crisis of the industrial society** launched by the German ecologist Ulrich Beck (1986) and youth researcher Thomas Ziehe (1982) include, for example, the erosion of the traditional class division and professional images. As individual freedoms and op-

tions, as well as narcissism, tend to increase, they add to other erosion by changing the massive trade unions' possibilities of establishing legitimacy in working life for certain qualifications and professions. We have already started going in this direction, if the proposals suggested in the Committee Report of the Ministry of Finance, i.e. "Renewing the Qualifications in State Administration" (VM 1990:33), are carried out. The proposals mainly concern elimination of present competence requirements. An interesting feature about this is that the main arguments against such plans stem from the fear that party politics will then have too powerful a role. People do not believe as yet that this erosion could possibly bring about the decomposition of the party system as well. On the one hand, universities have been violently against elimination of the social status and legitimacy of degrees, but, at the same time, they demand for themselves "autonomy" from society.

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CERTIFICATION AND THE BUREAUCRATIC STATE

Peter Jarvis

In the United Kingdom, in common with many of the advanced countries, there has been a proliferation of awards and educational courses offering qualifications in recent years and it would certainly be difficult, if not impossible, to discover quite how many courses and how many different qualifications are being offered. The first part of this paper explores briefly some of the contemporary developments which are associated with this phenomenon, but the main focus of this paper – the second part – examines why it should be occurring in advanced industrial countries, and some of the implications of these developments constitute the final part.

Contemporary Developments in the Education of Adults.

The fact that there is an increasing number of certificated courses in the United Kingdom is a truism, which will be assumed as a basis for the following discussion. That there are so many different courses and awards has led to a variety of new procedures and organisations being established to respond to this situation, three of which are discussed here: modularisation, credentialing and credit transfer and national vocational qualifications.

Modularisation: In order to respond to the needs of a changing society, the structure of many courses is undergoing change. Amongst the most common themes in education at present is that of modularization. A module may be defined as a self-contained unit of teaching and learning. It can be used in combination with other modules to build a whole course.

Now a significant thing about a module is that it does not have to be based upon a single academic discipline, but it can be based upon one aspect of life

or professional practice and can be either multi-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary. At the same time, it can be single disciplinary, and when it is, the course structure is similar to that of traditional courses whereby students study academic disciplines and sub-disciplines of that discipline, etc. This distinction about the structure of knowledge within a module is really very important and will be discussed further in the final section of this paper.

Another significant thing about a module is that it has no fixed length nor 'shape'. For instance a module can be a 'long thin' module - which is one which runs through a considerable length of a course, studying a little at a time. By contrast, a module can be a 'short fat' one - that is one that is studied intensively for a short period of time. In a part-time course, or in continuing professional education, for instance, it could be a single day or two.

Another factor can be the way that the course is designed: modules can be strung together, all equal in value and all considered to be of about the same standard, but they can also be like building blocks with foundation courses and then more intensive and higher level courses being built upon the foundations and having a higher value.

Finally, a course may comprise modules taught by different educational institutions, so that a student can study some modules at one educational institution and then move to another, for whatever reason, and continue to study without loss of credit for what had already been studied. In the same way the learners might merely wish to construct their own courses from the modules offered by a variety of educational providers in order to get the type of course that they desire.

The modular structure has considerable advantages for course design and programme planning. It can be used in full-time or part-time courses, in face-to-face education and in distance education and in a combination of different modes of study. It is flexible in as much as the same module can be used for a variety of different students, and these can even be taught at the same time - so that it can also become cost effective. Additionally, in continuing professional education, it can be designed very specifically for one or more occupational groups and can be accredited for the amount of time and

standard of work achieved, and so on. In this way it allows education to be seen to be relevant to any occupation because the continuing education provision can be 'tailor-made' for the students or clients, and accredited accordingly.

Modular structures are, therefore, effective, cost-efficient, relevant to specific groups of clients or students and flexible in different delivery systems and even by different providers. Initially, therefore, the modular structure seems ideal for contemporary society. Indeed, it might be claimed that it is the educational structure for a late-capitalist society. It is the product of, and has all the hallmarks of, this form of society - but it also has many of its disadvantages!

Accreditation and Credit Accumulation and Transfer: There are two different but related aspects in this sub-section - accreditation and credit transfer. A variety of accreditation agencies are emerging in different parts of the United Kingdom and in this paper only one is discussed as a case study- the Manchester Open College Federation. (Harford and Redhead, 1989). This federation does not provide courses itself but rather it accredits courses submitted to it and awards credits to those learners who complete accredited courses or other accredited episodes of learning successfully. Courses are moderated by paid moderators in order to assess standards, etc. It also accredits other forms of learning design, so that it is much more flexible than the traditional award for a specific course. These credits have different values and classes and as they are collected, so they become a portfolio of accredited learning that the learner has carried out over a number of months or years, and so on. These portfolio can be used in different ways, such as just a record of achievement, as evidence of learning in order to gain admission to higher level courses and, even, as evidence to be presented to prospective employers. Harford and Redhead (1989, p. 335) suggest the Manchester Open College Federation (MOCF):

> exists to improve access to educational opportunities for adults. For such 'students', particularly those whose learning takes place within community settings, the flexible, yet rigourous accreditation system developed by MOCF means recognition by the educational establishments

> of their achievements. This can act as a spur to further study, as a boost to self-confidence and as an aid to gaining employment for those who want that. It is also a system to the rest of society that recognition of the value of informal education is both desirable and possible.

This approach demonstrates that it is not necessary for the State to be involved in credentialing informal education, although the agencies of State have been much more involved in the credit accumulation and transfer (CATS) scheme that is beginning to emerge nationally between colleges and universities. This idea, known in the United Kingdom as CATS, began in North America and was adopted by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) in the United Kingdom in 1986. (The Council for National Academic Awards is being wound up by the current Conservative government and so the future of the CATS scheme has still to be decided, although it will almost certainly function within the national vocational qualifications, which are discussed below). The idea of credit transfer is that credit gained in one course in one institution can be used towards a qualification offered by another institution. Hence, the credit gained by completing one module of a course in one educational institution can be used towards the qualification offered by another university or polytechnic, and so on. This can only happen if the receiving institution accepts the level of qualification awarded by the first institution for its module. However, if there were to be a national system, then there is no reason why the credit cannot be transferred almost automatically and this is precisely what the CNAA is trying to do. It must be recognised that the CNAA functions at the level of higher education only. However, it works quite simply like this: a course is considered to be of a certain level and of a certain length and it is therefore given a credit weighting. Hence one course might be considered to be a first year university course demanding 200 hours of study. It would receive a credit weighting of 20 credits at first year university level. Another course might, however, be regarded as demanding 100 hours at masters level and it would, therefore, be awarded 10M credits. In order to gain a first (bachelors) degree it is considered necessary to get 120 credits at each of the first three levels and for a taught masters degree to gain 120M credits. For institutions registered with the Council for National Awards and which have their courses accredited, it becomes possible to transfer that credit from one institution to another and, thereby, to gather credits from different institutions

and, eventually, to be awarded a certificate, degree or diploma by the Council. However, universities have not traditionally registered with the Council and so transfer becomes less automatic in these instances. Nevertheless some universities have registered with the Council whilst others are prepared to consider credit transfer without such registration. Since universities award their own degrees, some of them are insisting that a certain percentage of the course is studied with them if the qualification that a student gains is to be awarded by that university.

National Vocational Qualification: The National Council for Vocational Qualifications was established in 1986 to provide a clear framework for vocational qualifications, although the government has presently declared its intention of merging vocational and non-vocational qualifications, so that the aim is now to produce a national credit framework (McNair, 1991). This Council is committed to:

> the creation of 900 National Vocational Qualifications, covering 80 per cent of all occupational areas, by the end of 1992. Initially, it was proposed to introduce the qualifications for the lower four levels, which excluded professional qualifications and vocational qualifications in higher education - which was regarded as level 5. However, the Council is now sufficiently far advanced as to have started on this level as well. When complete the framework is expected to include over 1000 qualifications with over 10 000 separately accreditable units. (McNair, 1991, p. 251).

Since this has a vocational foundation its core sills are: communication, problem solving, personal skills, numeracy, information technology and competency in a foreign language. However, there are problems about the mandatory basis of these skills and so there is still much to be done, but as this system is introduced it will have quite fundamental effects upon the future of the education and training of adults.

Having examined these three major developments in certification in the education of adults in the United Kingdom it is now necessary to analyse why they are occurring and this constitutes the second part of this paper.

A Bureaucratic State Phenomenon

The processes described in the first section have their equivalents in many countries because education is a function of state and society, and where there are similarities in these then the educational provision will almost certainly have certain similarities, although there may be differences as a result of the different cultural histories and political complexions of government. Even so, three major factors are suggested here as providing the basis for this analysis: the technological division of labour, the individuated society and the bureaucratic state. Naturally it is impossible to expand fully on each of these within the confines of one paper, although they are being more fully worked out elsewhere (Jarvis, *forthcoming*).

During the period of the Industrial Revolution the division of labour in society, which until that time had been fairly basic, assumed an impetus which has continued to the present day. Whilst the number of different occupations was small and could probably be numbered in tens and certainly in hundreds; now it is to be numbered in hundreds and thousands. Society has undergone tremendous structural changes as a result, such as from a form of mechanical to forms of organic solidarity, as many of the classical sociologists have documented (Durkheim, 1933, inter alia). But more significantly, different sectors of society are changing at different speeds, with the technological aspects changing 'from hour to hour' (Scheler, 1980, p. 76). Scheler actually wrote these words in the 1920s, and technological knowledge is changing even more rapidly now, so that 'half of what most professionals know when they finish their formal training will be outdated in less than five years' (Merriam and Caffarella 1991, p. 15). Consequently, a great deal of education and training must necessarily be orientated to this rapidly changing world of technological knowledge, and continuing professional education has become quite central to the educational scene to help people keep abreast with all the developments. But society is so fragmented, as a result of the division of labour and specialisation, that the great variety of educational provision which has arisen has assumed its own accreditation processes, which has resulted in an array of qualifications which apparently have little or no relationship to each other.

Industrialisation in the West was accompanied by a number of major social changes, as Kumar (1978) has documented. He highlights urbanisation, demographic changes, decline of community, centralisation, equalisation, 'democratisation', secularisation, rationalisation and bureaucratization, as being among the other main changes.

In Western societies, unlike in Japan, these changes have resulted in a more individuated society, where people have been geographically and socially mobile, and with their specialisms they have often sought to change their employment in order to 'better themselves'. This has resulted in a rather anonymous association of individuals – which Kumar refers to as the decline of community – who often have no social identity apart from their occupational one and who need to be able to demonstrate who they are to prospective employers, and others, by their expertise. But rarely do they have opportunity to demonstrate that expertise to a prospective employer, and so the next best things are references and certificates! Sometimes the personal reference, either through face-to-face contract or through the written medium, is useful, but above all prospective employers ask for relevant certification of expertise. However, the mass of qualifications has resulted in an inability to compare qualifications and certificates. Possession of a certificate has now become a passport to future employment – it is interesting that in the Manchester Open College Federation, the portfolio of credits gained by individuals is called a passport. The Portsmouth credit accumulation scheme also uses the same term. The accumulation of credits or certificates is regarded as a passport to other things and places in contemporary individual and anonymous society. Education and training are clearly assuming functions other than those for which they have traditionally been understood. However, the function of the passport is two-fold – it allows some to enter but it debars others. It was Max Weber who first made this point:

> When we hear from all sides for the introduction of regular curicula and special examinations, the reason behind it is, of course, not a suddenly awakened 'thirst for education', but the desire for restricting the supply for those positions and their monopolization by the owners of educational certificates. Today the 'examination' is the universal means of this

> monopolization and therefore examinations irresistibly advance.
> (Gerth and Mills, 1948, pp. 241–242.)

Weber's comment does call for educators to examine closely the process in which they are involved since not only are they encouraging access for some, but they may be helping to create a situation which prevents others from participating fully in contemporary society – the process is creating a new educational underclass – every innovation has both advantages and disadvantages, and this is no exception. Certification of education and training courses has functions in society, but it also is a matter of State.

One of the features of modern society has been the growth in bureaucracy and while there has been a great deal of work about its nature there is still a general agreement with most of the features that Max Weber proposed in his early writing on the subject. It will be recalled that he (1947, pp. 333–334) suggested ten characteristics of the bureaucrats: they are subject to the authority of office; offices are hierarchically defined and organised; offices have defined spheres of competence; are filled by free contractual relationship; candidates are appointed on the basis of technological qualifications; remunerated by fixed salaries; the office is the primary employment of the incumbent, it constitutes a career with a system of promotion; the official is separated from the ownership; officials are subject to the disciplines of office. Weber regarded this as rationally and technically the most efficient manner of organising people and there is a sense in which the State might be regarded as the largest bureaucratic organisation in any society, almost co-extensive with it. Irrespective of the political complexion of government, the State is a bureaucracy and since education is one of the agencies of state it is increasingly being treated as an aspect of the bureaucratic administration. Consequently, there has been a growth in competency based education and, above all, in credentialing and certification.

In a diverse and complex society, where there is a mass of educational certificates it becomes necessary in bureaucratic procedure to standardise both the accrediting procedures and the awards themselves; hence the emergence of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications and even a move towards the amalgamation of vocational and non-vocational qualifications, so that all

fit nicely into a bureaucratic framework. It is then claimed that it then becomes possible to adjudge individuals' ability by their achievement and for those who have certification to feel that they can achieve even greater things, but for those who have no certificates they can be confirmed in their failure and know that it is their own fault that they have not succeeded any further! Or as Dale (1989, pp. 34–35) writes:

> A further characteristic of fundamental importance to educational systems is that bureaucracies recruit on the basis of objective educational qualifications and credentials; the almost universal spread of the bureaucratic form of organization has placed a major requirement on credentialing on educational systems.

Credentialing is, therefore, one of the ways through which the bureaucratic state and its structures are legitimated and, at the same time, the bureaucratic state and the procedures of bureaucracy underlie much of the movement towards credentialing education; wherever there is bureaucracy there is a need for standardised, written documentation of achievement, even if that achievement is only of something completed rather than any indication of a degree of excellency. The rationality of bureaucratic procedures might thus be seen to have certain disadvantages as well as functional necessities for contemporary society and, consequently, the final section seeks to offer some evaluative comments on these developments.

Towards an Evaluative Analysis

Social change and innovation is in itself value–free but the manner by which it in introduced and the functions that it assumes thereafter are certainly not value–free, even though there are times when they are presented as if they were. This section does not seek to offer an exhaustive analysis of all the processes that have been discussed thus far, but it is intended to raise some questions about the processes that might encourage a wider debate than has sometimes occurred. These will be discussed under five sub–headings: epistemological questions; academic standards; existential questions; standardisation and legitimation; instrumentalism and rationality.

Epistemological Questions: The structure of a module may be single disciplinary or multi-disciplinary and it is important that both types of module should be utilised in education. It was certainly suggested in the opening section that the flexibility of the modular structure is very important in contemporary society, but flexibility in itself is not the only quality that should be sought from education. In continuing professional education it is useful to be able to construct modules of teaching and learning relevant to the workplace situation. However, it is also important that the demands of the academic discipline, as well as the demands of the workplace, act as a base upon which modules are structured. But short modules about a single discipline might be misleading for individuals begin to think that because they have mastered one module of an academic discipline like philosophy they have actually 'done philosophy'. In this way the significance of the academic disciplines becomes devalued.

Moreover, whilst flexibility might be very important for some, specialisation and the mastery of academic disciplines, such as the humanities and the social sciences, is also important both for the growth and development of knowledge but also as a foundation upon which critical debate about the nature of society can be established. It is dangerous for a society to relegate the humanities and the social sciences to leisure time pursuits, as Kerr et al (1973) suggest, because it results in a society in which fewer people are intellectually able to understand the social processes that are occurring and be in a position to offer an informed critique and this leads both to a less democratic and, ultimately, a less civilised society.

Academic Standards: Modularisation runs the risk of introducing lower academic standards on at least three counts: that students amass the number of modules rather then pursue a subject at depth; that students follow a variety of subjects rather than a single discipline; that students actually do less work for their awards. It is possible to collect a number of credits and be awarded as degree, for instance, even though all the credits are at a low level. In the same way students can study a variety of unrelated subjects and amass sufficient credits for a degree, even though the comprehensiveness and coherence of the academic programme studied is diminished. In the same way, because a modular course is structured by the number of hours rather than by the de-

mands of the discipline or subdiscipline, the result might be that students actually only study for the prescribed time, rather than become the master of a specified area of knowledge.

Indeed, credit is now awarded for the number of hours studied, rather than the standard attained and this is reducing quality to quantity. Indeed, in the Manchester passport scheme, credit is awarded for attendance rather than achievement and this is a problematic development. Academic standards are hard to define and perhaps impossible to quantify, but they are something to be striven after. Bureaucratic procedures are more concerned with completing the process than with the quality of the performance and it is important that as society moves in this direction academic standards should be retained, even if academics have to resist these moves to quantify standards for the sake of creating smoothly functioning bureaucratic procedures.

Credit is now awarded for competence rather than knowledge. It is to be granted that the traditional emphasis on knowledge went too far in emphasising knowledge to the exclusion of skills, but now the pendulum has swung towards competency based education, and credit is awarded for competence. In itself this is no bad thing, but the concept of competence is poorly defined and varies from one occupation to another, and so there is now standardisation of language but not of phenomenon, and the weakness of competency based education are still to be fully worked out. However, it is necessary to discover a way of assessing both knowledge and competence in skills and not to relegate the concept of 'academic' to the insignificant and irrelevant minutiae of everyday life.

Existential Issues: It was indicated above that in impersonal bureaucratic society it has become important for prospective employers, and even admissions tutors at universities and colleges, so that they may have something by which to assess a person's previous career. Hence the certificate is very useful in this process. Moreover, it is important for prospective students to know that a course for which they are applying has been accredited by a respectable accrediting agency. It is, therefore, most important for the functioning of modern society to have such a mechanism. At the same time, there is a danger that the certificate becomes more important than the person; that having a certifi-

cate becomes more important than the person who possesses it; that the certificate becomes the person; that striving for a certificate becomes more important than the enjoyment of life, and so on. In contemporary society, possession is more important for many individuals than being and, perhaps, education reflects this fact.

Education is a public institution, part of contemporary society and, as an institution it might be argued that it reflects the values of that society. But education is trapped in a dilemma – should it emphasize the having mode of certification or the being mode of the person? It will be argued here that it tends to adopt the rhetoric of being but the practices of having, and that this is inevitable because of its institutional status. Education is usually regarded as an institution which has been established to assist the students grow and develop (eg. Dewey, 1916) and this has certainly become the rhetoric of many educational institutions, although their educational practices may not always confirm their claims! Indeed, it is not only the practices of specific educational institutions, it is the general expectations about the product of education **per se**.

However, some writers have made quite clear differentiation between the two types of education (Jarvis, 1985) and in some of that discussion the having and being modes may be discovered. Freire (1972, pp. 45–46), for instance, has summarised this position in his two forms of learning:

> Narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse still, it turns them into 'containers', into receptacles to be filled by the teacher. The more completely he fills the receptacles, the better a teacher he is. The more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are.
>
> Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and 'makes deposits' which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat.

Having been the recipients of information, the students are then assessed to discover if they actually have the knowledge. If they can repeat or write it, non-reflectively but correctly, then that is evidence that they have acquired the knowledge. Possession of facts and assessment procedures that test only facts, predominate in many but by no means all educational examinations. Once students have demonstrated that they have remembered what they have been taught they are then given credit for the knowledge that they possess, and carry around their certificates that demonstrate to the public world that they have this knowledge. Modern society now looks for credit, award-bearing educational courses which demonstrate to the world that the learner has acquired specific knowledge or skill or competence. Without the requisite number of certificates students cannot continue to the next level of education – imprisoned in a global classroom (Illich and Verne, 1976) – or enter certain employments. Education now advertises that certain credit is awarded for specific courses and so a market has grown up and education sells its wares (certificated courses). But the fake institutions also undertake a similar exercise and there is a market for bogus certificates and fake qualifications, often purchased at exorbitant prices from pseudoeducational institutions. Even respectable educational colleges have to award certificates for the shortest of courses so that, through the mechanism of credit transfer, students can construct a portfolio of awards to demonstrate to a sceptical world the amount of knowledge that they have. Even if they no longer possess the knowledge because they might have forgotten it or have rarely used it since its acquisition, it matters not – so long as they possess the certificate; all is well and they have all the evidence that is required. Even if the learning has been forgotten – the certificate must be genuine!

This is no diatribe against certification, although it might appear to be so! This is a criticism of the abuse of what is a necessary system in education. Learning occurs in the private sphere and society and the bureaucratic state are anonymous and, to some extent, de-personalized public phenomena. People move between locations and between occupations. How can applicants for a place on a course or for a job be assessed when they are not known? References can be written about the person, but they may not tell the whole story. How can potential students assess the value of courses that they wish to study, unless there is a reputable certificate at the end? In the public place, public

certification is a guarantee of something – even if only that the learners attended such a reputable educational institution, or that they once possessed the knowledge or the skills, or that they will be given the opportunity to gain them by following specific courses. Certification, then, might also be important for education in the being mode because of the privatisation of learning and the anonymity of the public world and the bureaucratic state.

Once again, Freire (1972, pp. 56–7) summarises this position:

> Problem-posing education affirms men as beings in the process of *becoming* – as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality. Indeed, in contrast to other animals who are unfinished but not historical, men know themselves to be unfinished; they are aware of their incompleteness. In this incompleteness and this awareness lie the very roots of education as an exclusively human manifestation. The unfinished character of men and the transformational character of reality necessitate that education be an on-going reality. (Italics in original.)

Here Freire summarises education in the being mode; education is a dialogical relationship in which human beings communicate and share experiences, so that their human essence might stand out more fully through their learning. Learning is necessarily in the reflective forms since he discusses the idea that people know that they are incomplete, they are always becoming, and so they must engage in experimental action and reflective learning. It is these that, for Freire, lie at the very roots of the educational enterprise. Indeed, education in the being mode is about the provision of opportunity for individuals to enter relationships and learn reflectively, so that they can grow and develop as human beings. Here there is no non-reflective acquisition of facts, no perennial endeavour to hold on to the knowledge, but a consistent attempt to become more conscious of people and the world and of its richness and through this conscious endeavour the human being becomes more human in the creative process.

In a similar manner Paters (1965, p. 110) summarised his position about education in perhaps one of the most well-known quotes from his writings:

> Education, than, can have no ends beyond itself. Its value derives from principles and standards implicit in it. To be educated is not to have arrived at a destination; it is to travel with a different view. What is required is not feverish preparation for something that lies ahead, but to work precision, passion and taste at worthwhile things that lie to hand.

Peters goes on to relate this to the quality of life, and for him, this is about being rather than having – about education providing 'that touch of eternity under which endurance can pass into dignified, wry acceptance, and animal enjoyment into a quality of living.' (ibidem)

Standardisation and Legitimation: The diversity of pluralist society is something that no bureaucracy could tolerate. Pugh et al (1972, pp. 32–33) suggest that:

> Standardization of procedures in a basic aspect of organizational structure, and in Weber's terms would distinguish bureaucratic and traditional organizations from charismatic ones... A procedure is taken to be an event that has regularity of occurrence and is legitimized by the organization. There are rules or definitions that purport to cover all circumstances and that apply invariably.

And so the mass of qualifications and accreditation procedures have to be standardised and there has to be a national accreditation framework, even if that framework hides the complexity of the process. Once in place, however, procedures that are not part of that framework will be deemed to be illegitimate.

For Weber the bureaucracy was the most rational and efficient way of managing large numbers of people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the educational framework should take on all the appurtenances of bureaucracy.

Instrumentalism and Rationality: In that quotation from R S Peters, there is a critique of education as being something instrumental; this is no new criticism of some approaches to education but it call into question those apparently rational approaches to education which are assumed to be value free. Be-

cause there is one bureaucratic structure imposed upon society, this does not mean that there is only one rationality. Indeed, MacIntyre (1988, p. 9) suggests.

> So rationality itself, whether theoretical or practical, is a concept with a history; indeed, since there are a diversity of traditions of enquiry, with histories, there are... rationalities rather than rationality.

If there is no one rationality, then that rationality which is imposed by the functioning of the bureaucratic state is but a position adopted by those who exercise power and, as such, is ideological. Education can be instrumental, geared to ends such as certification and it is rational – but perhaps it is just as rational to have a system of education that seeks to provide opportunities for people to learn and develop, without certification. There are rationalities rather than rationality and so, rationally, there can be a variety of rationalities underlying different courses in education, and they do not all have to conform to the procedures of the bureaucratic state. This does not mean, however, that through the exercise of government the bureaucratic procedures will continue to dominate and certification and standardisation continue to play a major role in education.

As an agency of state, education is defined by the state and many of its practices and procedures controlled by the state. As a social institution, education will also reflect the values of the age and the culture within which it is located. At the same time, within a technological and bureaucratic world, education demonstrates many similarities whatever the country within which it occurs and in today's world standardised procedures of credentially and certification of modular courses will probably be discovered in most advanced societies – for the one is but a manifestation of the other.

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TOWARDS TRANSFORMATIVE EVALUATION OF TRAINING

Antti Kauppi

Introduction

Nowadays training is often organized through mass production system, where different courses can be seen as the main products. More and more courses are organized every year and more and more people attend to these courses. Training has become a symptom in a diploma disease (Parjanen 1991), which highlights the exchange value of training. Training is used to build up a paper career, where the formal qualifications count. However, there is also a growing scepticism concerning the use value of this kind of training. Do the courses have any effects on work practices?

Kirkpatrick (1976) in his influential article sees that the basis of evaluation of training is the determination of its effectiveness. He argues that training program can be evaluated on four levels: reaction (How well did the conferees like the program?), learning (What principles, facts, and techniques were learned?), behaviour (What changes in job behaviour resulted from the program?), and results (What were the tangible results of the program un terms of reduced cost, improved quality, improved quantity, etc.).

In all these levels Kirkpatrick (1976) suggests measurement in quantitative terms and on objective basis. He proposes that traditional research designs with pre-tests, post-tests and control groups should be used whenever possible. In the analysis of evaluation results he trusts in statistical analysis. This tendency has led either to collecting conferees' opinions right after the course or to systematic, large, and cumbersome research efforts that produce results years after the training. Conferees' opinions tell, if they liked the course or

not. The reaction questionnaires, so called 'happiness indexes', usually concentrate on the organizational aspects of training and give a positive view of the course.

The results of systematic evaluation efforts tell, if the training has produced effects measurable through objective and quantitative analysis. They don't tell the side-effects. Nor do they tell why the training was or was not effective. And usually the results from systematic evaluation efforts come so late that the training program is not there any more.

There has been a growing tendency to argue for a more useful qualitative approach to evaluation. A good example of basic arguments for qualitative approach is Forest's (1976) article, where he presents the themes for more useful program evaluation. He points out that uncontrolled, informal, unsystematic, and subjective evaluations that are directed towards continuing various settings with varied goals and values have the best chance of being used in practice.

However, the results from qualitative inquiries have been mainly descriptive in nature, and have been very closely tied to the educational processes and problems. They may produce information about shortcomings of training, but they don't necessarily describe, why these shortcomings occur. Nor do they connect training to the development of practices at the workplace.

Both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches to evaluation of training have been concerned mainly with the training institutions and their forms of conduct. Often, in fact, evaluations have been conducted to legitimate the existing training practices. However, from the effectiveness point of view it would be more interesting to analyze the formation of work practices and the role of training in this process. How often actually training works for the legitimation of existing work practices and therefore build up the stability of practices? How often is training connected with concrete changes in the work practices?

The intention of this article is to expand the traditional quantitative and qualitative approaches by drawing lines for a transformative approach to evaluation

of training. The article starts with a case-study that demonstrates a discrepancy between training and learning at the workplace. This contradiction leads to a deeper theoretical analysis of the formation of work practices. From this viewpoint evaluation of training should be connected both to the routinization and transformation of work practices. It is argued that if the purpose of training is to produce qualitative changes in the work practices, the transformative approach to evaluation should be stressed.

Case[1] – the Process Character of Effectiveness of Training

To demonstrate the problems of effectiveness of training a short description of a case-study is presented. The intention is to show, how the effectiveness of training actually is influenced less by educational variables than by variables connected to the workplace.

The object of the case-study was a course of measurement in electronics organized by a leading centre for continuing education in Finland. The learners came from different parts of Finland and were working as electricians in a Finnish state-owned company. The younger learners had certificates from vocational schools; the older ones didn't have any formal schooling beyond elementary school. For some learners this was their first course in the field of electronics, while others had previously attended many courses in the same field.

The case was analyzed using '**soft systems methodology**'. This methodology is quite new and not very often used in educational research. It has been developed through extensive action research work in the Department of Systems, University of Lancaster. For more precise descriptions of the methodology it is referred here to Checkland (1981) and Wilson (1984).

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1) The case presented as well as all the quotes are from a research (Kauppi 1985) based on semi-structured interviews conducted after six months of a course in measurement in electronics arranged by a centre for continuing education in Finland.

The methodology makes a difference between the real world and systems models describing the real world. It builds up a process where the problematic situation is modelled and analyzed through systems thinking in order to find and implement feasible and desirable changes. The idea of systems thinking is based on 'soft' systems, so the paradigm for research rests on qualitative data and action research cycle.

The main method of collecting data was semi-structured interview. Every learner (n=18) that attended the course was interviewed six months after the course. In addition the foremen of the learners (n=11) were interviewed to form a more reliable picture of effectiveness.

It was found out that only three of the eighteen learners had applied skills learned in the course in their work. Most of the foremen did not have any connection with the application of skills learned in the course.

When this problematic situation was analyzed through soft systems methodology, four significant systems were found that affected the process of effectiveness of training:

(1) **Training system** was based on educators' activities concerning the teaching process.

(2) **Operational system** was based on learners' activities concerning learning and application of learning in the work process.

(3) **Directing and controlling system** was based on foremen's activities concerning the planning of the work process according to organizational plans.

(4) **Environmental system** was based on other workers' activities based on comfortable working environment and easy-going atmosphere at the work place.

The systems fit closely together forming a systems model of the effectiveness of training. The importance of the operational system was clearly visible. This seems logical, when learning and application of learning are seen to be in the

heart of the process of effectiveness of training.

However, in this case the main problems could be found in training system, in directing and controlling system, and in environmental system. The main problems of effectiveness were:

(1) The training was too theoretical and related to narrow learning tasks in the laboratory.

(2) The course was not directed to the work processes of the learners. Many of the instruments on which the course was based on were not used at the workplace. Most of the learners did not have a possibility to apply learned skills in their work, because their foremen kept them in other kind of working tasks.

(3) The environmental system put its emphasis mainly on other things than learning. Training was largely seen as an extra reward of well-done job or as a benefit already included in the work. In these cases training was based more on equality of workers and rewarding system of organization than on learning and application of learning. The emphasis was more on amusement than learning.

Basically the presented case gives an example of practice-oriented training that should be useful at the workplace. But when analyzed further, training was found to be of very little use in practice. However, the evaluation of learners' reactions in the end of the course produced positive results, and the interviews showed that both the workers and their foremen were satisfied in the training. There is a clear discrepancy between effectiveness as learners define it and effectiveness as changed work practices.

The case has been used in many courses for trainers as a demonstrational material [2], and in most occasions trainers themselves have agreed on the rele-

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2) The case has been used as a learning task in the beginning of the course for trainers. The trainers have analyzed the case in order to explain, what has happened in the case, and why this has happened. Through the case many trainers have as a matter of fact analyzed their own courses by using their own experiences of their own work practices.

vance of the case. The explanations of the problems embedded in the case are various, but the agreement on the main findings seems to be quite good.

A simplified conclusion from the case is that training was separated from work. Training followed its own principles, and was evaluated through these. Workers seemed to learn their job by doing it at the workplace, and they came into training to meet friends, to recreate themselves, to get new ideas, and to strengthen their existing views. It can be argued that learning had differentiated into learning at the workplace and learning in the classroom. The former was closely connected to socialization at the workplace, and the latter to studying in the classroom. This problematic setting can be systematized with the following figure.

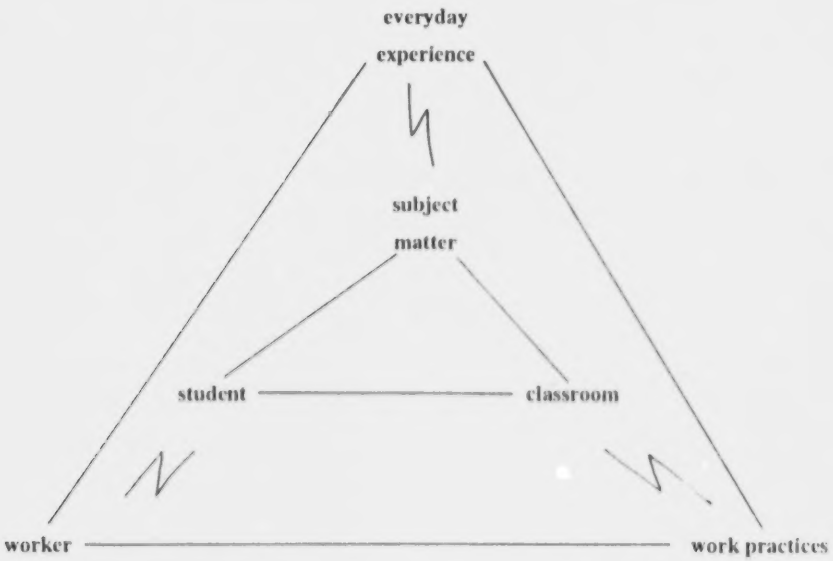

Figure 1. The differentiation between learning at the workplace and learning in the classroom

The figure highlights three kinds of problems:

(1) When the workers came to training they left their work behind, and took roles as students.

(2) In their work workers learned from everyday experience while doing their job. In training new knowledge and new skills were delivered to them largely without any connection to the work practices as a whole.

(3) At the workplace it was learned for the practice. In training the subject matter became the object of learning, and practice was left out.

Training generally seems to support this kind of differentiation in learning, as well as the division of Labour between training and learning at the workplace it produces. As a matter of fact it may be argued that the problem of effectiveness is built into the training practices. The evaluation of training often maintains the existing practice and hides the problem of effectiveness.

Another large problem is the institutionalization of the training practices. On the one hand, to survive the training organization has to protect the existing practice. On the other hand, the students have internalized the existing practice, and built their expectations, actions, and evaluations accordingly. Both the training organization and the students reproduce continuously the existing practice, and at the same time make it harder to change.

The Formation of Work Practices –
From Routinization to Transformation

For the purpose of understanding learning and change at the workplace and the role of training in changing work practices, it is useful to differentiate between routinization and transformation as aspects of work practices. Routinization is defined here as the habitual, taken-for-granted character of the activities of day-to-day working life. Transformation is defined here as the process of qualitative and structural change in the work practices.

When the Figure 1 is extended, work practices are specified for analytical purposes to routinization and transformation, everyday experience to tacit knowledge and theoretical / discursive knowledge, and worker to practical consciousness and reflective monitoring of action.

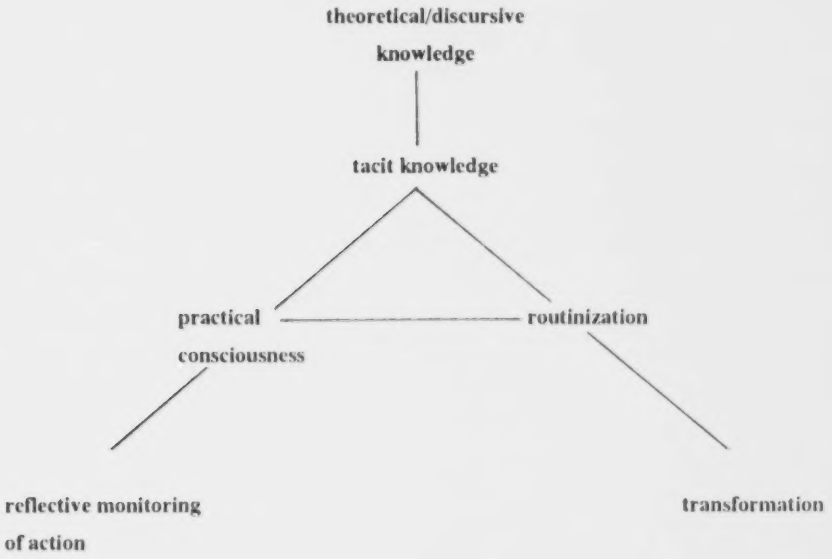

Figure 2. Formation of work practices – from routinization to transformation

Formation of work practices seems to involve two kinds of processes:

1) Routinization forms the basis of day-to-day working life by building up the tacit knowledge-base and the practical consciousness of the worker;

2) Transformation forms the basis of qualitative changes in the working life, and requires more theoretical and discursive knowledge-base and worker's more reflective orientation towards work.

Routinization and Organization of Practices

Day-to-day working life is organized on certain time paths that seem to form the continuity of practices. These time paths are arranged according to routines that are integral both to the continuity of the personality and to the institutions of society, which are such only through their continuous reproduction. Routinization seems to be a central element in formation of practices.

The routines and work practices have evolved over a longer period of time. They have their history that forms the basis for habituation and tradition. Through the process of socialization, individuals internalize organization's history and work practices connected to it. However, at the same time the individuals bring their own life history into the process of socialization and form the practices through their activities. Therefore formation of routines and work practices always also involves knowledgeable human activity.

Through the human activity the formation of work practices incorporates the subjective and the objective component. Namely, as Giddens (1984, 90) has observed, if there is any continuity to working life at all, most workers must be right most of the time; that is to say, they know what they are doing, and they successfully communicate their knowledge to others. The knowledgeability incorporated in the practical activities which make up the bulk of daily life is a constitutive feature of the social world.

It may be argued that the knowledgeability of the worker rests in the processes of cognition. Through their history the workers build themselves cognitive structures that guide their thinking and acting in the world. Through the studies concerned with cognition in everyday contexts this has been found to be the case both in blue-collar (Scribner 1984, 1986) as well as in white-collar (Schön 1983) jobs. Usually this kind of a thought model can't be articulated verbally – it's in a way self-evident to the worker. It has its basis in workers' everyday experiences and in a practical consciousness created through these experiences. Through their activities the workers continuously reproduce these thought models, and build a hard-to-change basis for their routines. The routinization in the level of thought models can at best be seen

in the hurries of everyday life, when the workers do things day-to-day, but never have the time to stop and think, what they are actually doing and why.

The knowledge-base of everyday practices [3] is by its nature tacit, ideographic, and contextual. It's not based on systematic and generalizable analysis, but on intuitive judgments concerning individual and unique settings. On the other hand, it's tested in practice by its functionality in answering to practical questions. It also seems to be based on tacit consensus between workers based on their mutual expectations, on holistic conception of the setting with many interacting variables, and on allowing unexpected and unintended consequences of action.

It is also important to emphasize the contextuality of working life and working institutions. According to Giddens (1984), all social life occurs in, and is constituted by, intersections of presence and absence in the 'fading away' of time and the 'shading off' of space (p. 132). He emphasizes the reversible time as an important characteristic of the day-to-day routine conduct. Therefore it is necessary to take into consideration both the contextual settings and their formation in time through human activities.

Routinization has been deeply embedded in the day-to-day activities. The workers have learned to do their work in certain ways and built themselves thought models that support their acting at the workplace. Their knowing and action are based on practical knowledge that is in a way built into their practices through their experiences. They always think and act in certain contexts that organize the settings they act in. However at the same time the contexts are affected by their efforts.

Therefore, when the workers come to training, they move into another context that has a different knowledge-base. Their history as students and the training

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3) Many researchers have been interested in the knowledgebase of everyday practices. It has been talked about tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1967), popular knowledge (Hall 1984), craft knowledge (Schulman 1987), knowing-in-action (Schön 1983), everyday or common sensical knowledge (Bolster 1983) and practical knowledge (Nyiri & Smith 1988).

organizations history as an educational institution form very different demands for thinking and action. Students are knowledgeable in the way that they know, what is expected from them in training. This forms the basis of their expectations and evaluations. Students have formed themselves over time a knowledge-base that tells them how to think and act in training. Therefore through their studying activities they actually all the time reproduce the existing training practices, which build up the institutionalization of the practices.

The institutionalization of training practices may be closely connected with the reproduction of work practices. Training often seems to provide the stock of knowledge as well as the discursive strategies for providing arguments to support and legitimate the existing work practices. From this point of view training can also build up a language game for the generation of normative regulation at the workplace. Although training may not have any effects on work practices, it can have effects on discursive competence and on new conceptualization of existing practices. This in fact may be harmful for the purpose of changing practices, because it often obscures the relation between the actual phenomena and the concepts that describe it.

Transformation of Routines and Practices

The routinization of practices seems to present a difficult challenge for trainers and developers. The workers are not necessarily able to questionalize their routines in order to think about change and development. Therefore development is often seen as more efficient reproduction of existing practices, not as changing practices.

However, the changing world inevitably leads practitioners to settings, where the routines just don't work. The unconscious habits once learned become self-defeating in a superficially similar but structurally altered social context.

These situations are the ones that actually make the change inevitable [4]. When practitioners find themselves in settings that are not understandable within the old tacit thought models, they tend to reflect on practice (see Schön 1983, Giddens 1984). Through reflection they can surface and criticize the tacit understandings that have grown up around the repetitive character of work practices, and can make sense of unique and uncertain settings. Reflective monitoring of action is embedded in everyday thinking, but its activation seems to depend on the contradictory character of the developing practices.

The role of historically developing practices is of central importance in the reflective monitoring of action. Because our concrete practices have evolved in social contexts, reflection should not only be practitioners' inquiry into their practices; it involves a critique directed towards analyzing and challenging the institutional structures in which practitioners work. This perspective on reflection locates practitioners as objects in socio-historical development, but at the same time active agents whose action forms the development.

Reflective monitoring as such is not capable of changing practices. In order to do things differently, different instruments [5] are needed. By instruments it's referred to both concrete artefacts and instruments of thought - signs, concepts and models. Conscious changing of practices in fact demands that the

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4) Mezirow (1988) takes a disorienting dilemma for the basis of perspective transformation. He has argued that disorienting dilemma can occur either though an accretion of transformed meaning schemes or in response to an externally imposed existential dilemma (p. 224). He sees the origin of perspective transformation therefore more as internally fenerated. On the other hand Engeström (1987) develops further Bateson's (1972) conception of double bind as the starting point of expansive learning and Giddens (1984) sees the unintended consequences of action as the beginning of transformation of practices. The emphasize the external antecedents of transformation, where the historical, contextual, and situated practices present the challenges for development.

5) The concept ' instrument' refers here to the idea of tool-mediated action. The concept 'instrument' is used to describe both the 'concrete tools' (e.g. hammers, telephones, computers) and 'psychological tools' (e.g. signs, concepts, models). Tool-mediated action is one of the starting points of activity-oriented psychology (see Wertsch 1981, 1985). The notion of 'psychological tools' highlights the importance of language as the medium of action. Therefore it is understandable that communicative action has received more attention also in the field of social theories (e.g. Habermans 1984).

developing objects of thought are transformed into instruments of thought. Representational concepts must be transformed into instrumental concepts. Perceptual-concrete objects have to be reconstructed in simplified models which act as tools for experimentation and working with the potentialities embedded in the object (see Engeström 1987).

The problem within the notion of reflective monitoring of action lies in the trust on capability of everyday cognition and human problem solving based on it. However, practitioners do have a limited capacity to conceptualize everyday phenomena. A useful distinction here is between **everyday concepts** based on perceptually concrete phenomena and **theoretical concepts** based on substantial generalization (Dawydow 1977). In order to fully grasp the why's of human activities and produce the instruments for new practices, the historical and dialectical nature of the work practices has to be analyzed deeper, and the theoretical construction of our activities has to be built up stronger.

A necessary component in development work is the production of new practices. This requires also transformation of the contexts of action. The contexts of action will inevitably change, because the changing practices are the embodiments of the contexts. On the other hand, the contexts may resist change, and this way limit the possibilities for development. This refers to what Giddens (1984) calls **duality of structure**, structure both as the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes. Contexts are both restricting and enabling at the same time.

The contextual nature of transforming practices necessarily makes the transformation a collective enterprise. The individual actions form a collective activity that builds on mutual knowledge, communication, and concrete activities in work practices. The collectivity can be seen first in the form of learning activity, as the forming of collective mastery of developing practices, and second on the form of work activity, as the collective transformation of practices at the workplace. The transformation of routines and practices seems to demand reflective monitoring of action, formation of new instruments of action, and transformation of the contexts of action. This transformation has its origin in the contradictory nature of evolving practices, which drives practitioners into settings, where their existing habits don't work. When the

transformation of practices takes place there can be disturbances also in cultural reproduction. The disturbances can get manifested in a loss of meaning and lead to corresponding legitimation and orientation crises. I such cases, the actors' mutual knowledge can no longer cover the need for mutual understanding that arises with new situations. As Habermas (1987, 140–144) realizes there is then a need for coordination of actions via intersubjectively recognized validity claims. These claims form the basis for the normative regulation of the transformed practices.

Conclusions: Towards Transformative Evaluation of Training

The case presented in the beginning of this article highlighted the need to study deeper the prerequisites for effectiveness that can be found in the contexts of training. The contexts of training presented in the case were seen as differentiated into training system (in the training centre) and directing and controlling and environmental systems (at the workplace). They were connected through the operational system (learners activities concerning learning and application of learning).

It was argued that the operational system has differentiated into learning in the classroom (through studying) and learning at the workplace (through experiencing and socializing). Learners as knowledgeable workers had realized this contextual differentiation, and learned to act accordingly. This seemed to be one reason why the evaluations right after the training produced positive comments, but the interviews at the workplace, negative results. The learners themselves had learned to evaluate training as studying in the classroom, not as changing work practices.

Another issue worth further consideration was the question of routinization and transformation. The operational system had its own history at the workplace. Work practices had evolved over time, and formed a tacit knowledge-base for action. Workers had built over time routines that stand in the heart of effective action. At the same time, however, the routines reproduced existing practices that became harder to change. The problem of effectiveness of training seemed to be embedded in the routinization of work practices. What ef-

fects could sensibly be expected, when workers after many years of working at the workplace come into classroom for a few days to study?

The routinization–transformation aspect highlights two different perspectives on effectiveness of training. Namely, the effects based on routinization (more effective reproduction of existing practices) and effects based on transformation (changing existing practices). The contradiction lies in here in the fact that workers have to build effective routines, but at the same time by building routines they actually make the routines harder to change.

In the case presented, training was on the one hand directed towards furnishing the learners with tricks or rules of thumb that would give learners simple directions for action. On the other hand training gave learners general factual information that in fact strengthened the engagement with simple and mechanical rules for action because of their isolation from practice. The effects that were found within the case basically were concerned with finding good ideas or recipes for action that made the existing practices more fluent.

It has also been argued, how training has been used to develop arguments for legitimization of existing practices. Training in this case mainly built up a language game that backed up the validity claims embedded in the normative regulation of work practices. The transformation of work practices would also build up discontinuities in cultural reproduction and lead to a need to coordinate actions to develop intersubjectively new validity claims. It is important to notice that legitimation is seen as produced and reproduced through workers' contribution.

In this article it is suggested that the transformation of practices will become all the more important when qualitative changes take place in work environments. This suggestion highlights three central implications for effectiveness discussion:

(1) The principle of contextualizing training would mean that evaluation of training should be considered from the viewpoint of changing work practices.

(2) The principle of transformative capacity of training would mean that evaluation of training should be considered also through qualitative changes in work practices and their demands for reflection.

(3) The principle of production of practices through training would mean that evaluation should be directed towards producing changes in work practices.

To develop these principles further, the figures 1 and 2 have to be generated into a model (figure 3.), where evaluation of training is seen as an instrument in developing work practices. This requires that the transformative capacity of evaluation is directed towards changing the workers' reflective capacities, as well as the knowledge-base and the contexts of training and work practices.

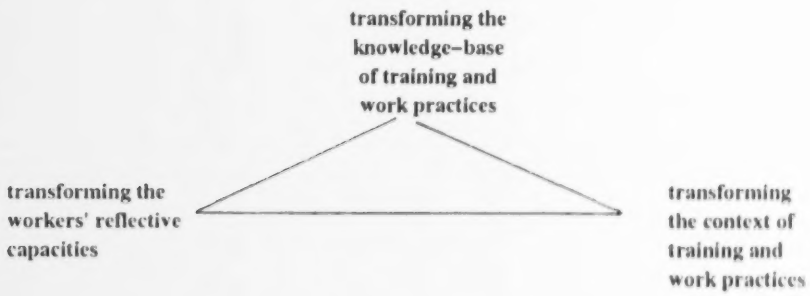
transforming the knowledge-base of training and work practices
transforming the workers' reflective capacities
transforming the context of training and work practices

Figure 3. The cornerstones of transformative evaluation

From this perspective evaluation should transform the workers' reflective capacities. Evaluation would be an in-built part of transformative learning that aims at more conscious understanding of work. This requires that the knowledge-base of work has to be transformed into more theoretical and discursive form, which will make it possible to conceptualize and analyze developing work practices, as well as create new possibilities for action. The third requirement for transformative evaluation concerns the transformation of contexts of training and work practices. Evaluation should also aim at changing the structural and cultural antecedents of action. Meaningful action always depends upon the possibility to change the world.

In order to be transformative, evaluation should be built into the very process of transforming work practices, where it affects and is affected by learning and concrete human activities. Evaluation has to take work as its object -- and not isolated work tasks, but work as constituted of contextual and collective activities embedded in historically evolving work practices. This means that sharp distinctions between knowledgeable workers and institutional structures should not be made, but work will have to be considered as a human activity system [6], where worker and institutional structures are closely intertwined in the work practices.

Because work practices are always formed through workers' activities, the change in work practices can take place only through workers' contribution. Therefore it is essential that workers participate in the evaluation of the formation of work practices. It is inevitable that they also need to take part in developmental interventions, where the instruments for transformation are learned. In conscious transformation of work practices, theory and practice are closely intertwined. Every challenge in practice is possible to be subjected into theoretical analysis that should make it more easily grasped. On the other hand, theoretical models should include the instrumentality that makes them practical in the sense that they form the instruments for achieving new practices.

In transformative evaluation the workers themselves participate in the process of researching, learning, planning and developing [7]. It is argued that this kind of commitment is not only a necessary but an essential component in the integration of evaluation and action.

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6) The notion of system does not refer here to the traditional perspective on closed and open systems. Rather it is used to describe the formation of contextual, collective and conscious social practices through human activities. Therefore it would be more appropriate to approach the notion of system as a self-organizing and self-producing entity (see e.g. Prigogine & Strengers 1984, Maturana & Varela 1980).

7) As such the design of transformative evaluation closely connects it with action research, participatory research, developmental work research and other approaches to new paradigm research (see Carr & Kemmis 1986, Reason & Rowan 1981, Reason 1988, Engeström 1987).

To summarize: The basic argument of the article has been that the traditional quantitative and qualitative approaches of evaluation need to be extended towards transformative evaluation which binds together research, learning, planning, and developing. Transformative evaluation moves the focus of evaluation towards the formation of work practices. The integration of evaluation and action makes it essential that the workers participate in the evaluation of training. The main consideration should be directed towards the contexts of training – especially to the routinization and transformation of work practices.

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WORK ORGANIZATIONS AND THE EXPANSION OF CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES

Mauri Panhelainen

Introduction

In his article on the relationship between higher education and work in Europe in recent years, and the developmental trends of this relationship, Ulrich Teichler draws the following two conclusions. First, the position of university graduates in working life is undergoing several small, gradual changes instead of a single, big and dramatic change. The expansion of higher education has not produced a large academic proletariat, problems in employment have increased but only slightly, and the demand for higher education, i.e. the number of applicants to the different educational programmes in universities, has not followed the trends of the labour market. Secondly, however, it is obvious that the changes taking place in the division of labour in working life are breaking down the traditional segmentation of the labour market and jobs for employees with different educational backgrounds. Higher education does not determine the position and field of activity of university graduates to the same extent as it used to (Teichler 1989, 240–244).

This picture, based on empirical studies in many different countries, can be recognized in the Finnish labour market, too. Higher education and the demand for it change slowly, while working life changes much more quickly. Universities respond to these changes by expanding their adult education, in particular their continuing professional education, rather than by changing their basic education. The present plans for introducing a new type of higher educational institutions in Finland ('ammattikorkeakoulut', translated literally as 'occupational professional university'; corresponds roughly to polytechnics or institutes of higher education) can be seen as the government's structural answer to the same problem.

The oldest university-based continuing education centre in Finland was established in the University of Tampere in 1970. Most of the twenty continuing education centres linked with universities were established in the 1980's. Their activities can, in general, be divided into two main areas: continuing professional education and open university. The centres employ a total of about 700 persons in planning and administration. In the biggest centres the staff amounts to about 100 persons. These centres have about 90,000 participants each year attending shorter or longer courses. Academic adult education – continuing professional education, in particular – continues to expand. Scholars and experts representing different disciplines and practical applications act as part-time teachers in addition to their regular jobs (Parjanen 1990).

The relationship of universities with working life and its changes is influenced, among other things, by the ideas that prevail in universities about higher education and science policy (Panhelainen 1984). Different schools of thought have also divergent opinions about adult studies in universities (Table 1). Neotraditionalists stress the autonomy of the universities in relation to both the government and working life. As regards the educational task of the universities, neotraditionalists emphasize the education of young age groups, setting academic degrees and scientific postgraduate studies as their goals. The school of thought called the cultural revolutionaries views science and university education through the threat of global catastrophes. Its supporters think that science and university education have to be changed in a revolutionary way so that they can be used in fighting those global threats. University education should be generalistic rather than specialized. Utilitarians representing developmental optimism see science and university education as providing a solution to the developmental problems of society and therefore they regard interaction with working life as important.

Table 1 presents a hypothetical description of the opinions of the above schools of thought on the role of universities in adult higher education.

Table 1. Relationships between different schools of thought and adult higher education

	Types of adult higher education		
Schools of higher education and science policy	**Open university**	**Short-term continuing professional education**	**Long-term continuing professional education**
Neo-traditionalism	Not a necessary basic function of university	Not a university function, allowed to the extent that it e.g. furnishes funds for pure research	Not a university function
Cultural revolutionaries of science	To be endorsed wholly, to provide scientific survivalist knowledge and skills for people	Condemnable, not a university function	Justifiable to a certain extent, with a research, not professional orientation
Utilitarialism	To be endorsed moderately: (a) make use of educational reserves (b) for equality	To a certain extent necessary all the time, economic profits to universities	Indispensable, the most recent research findings made available to promote occupational changes

Despite these divergent opinions, the **process of legitimization** of adult education in universities has advanced in step with its quantitative growth. One prerequisite for this has been the fact that there has been a well-functioning system of conflict management in universities in the situation where the rapid expansion of continuing education has become to be felt as a threat to the traditional tasks of universities. Obviously, the prevailing thought is that since nothing can be done about the expansion of continuing education, universities might as well take advantage of it – especially as the continuing education centres have started to bring a financial profit. Part of the profit must be allocated to the other functions of the university. This system illustrates the far-reaching legitimization of profitable continuing education in universities. The basis for legitimization is the financial profit.

This seems to be an example of "the handshaking hypothesis" of different schools of thought in higher education policy: they have reached the same conclusion from different arguments. The utilitarians are in favour of continuing professional education as they aim at harnessing science to support the actual changes in working life; the neotraditionalists, on the other hand, support continuing professional education because they want to protect basic university education from what they consider a detrimental contamination of working life.

How Is Continuing Professional Education and Its Expansion Maintained in Universities?

The expansion of continuing professional education in universities has given rise to many discussions and explanatory models. **Educational market explanations** refer to the relatively new Finnish adult higher education market which is replacing the state educational policy with a system of supply and demand. In addition to universities, many schools providing secondary education, as well as private educational companies, arrange continuing professional education courses for which the students pay fees. In this competitive situation, the continuing education centres of universities make use of the prestige of science and their own possibility of providing the latest scientific knowledge (e.g. Kurki et al. 1989, 67).

The market model of adult higher education has adopted two central market principles. First, the priorities of education are determined by the market supply/demand and any attempt to control these markets would not benefit those whom it is supposed to benefit. In practice, the state educational policy is left with support and repair tasks which aim at preventing the most obvious distortions. Another central principle is the hypothesis in classical economics about the basis of human motivation and its effects on consumer behaviour. The most significant factor is the professionals' personal decisions in the educational market (Griffin 1987).

A critical debate has been going on in the USA, for example, about market phenomena associated with continuing professional education in universities. The most critical debaters have accused the universities which actively market continuing professional education of having academic standards on sale and of huckstering university degrees and credit points (Cross 1988, 33–34). There has not been a similar debate in Finland yet, although there are differences of opinion on continuing professional education.

One reason for the lacking critical discussion may be the fact that the market model has intruded the universities themselves. There is "an inside markets" in universities which makes it possible for teachers and researchers to act as "entrepreneurs" in the educational market because of the demand for instructors. It seems that the most active members of the scientific community are also active in the continuing professional education market. This way some of the researchers and teachers earn extra income and social esteem among the interest groups in the surrounding society.

The explanatory models based on **qualification theory** concerning the expansion of continuing professional education are based on the technological and other development of working life. This development causes changes in work processes which, in turn, require new kinds of qualifications from the employees (e.g. Takala 1984, 8–9). The concept of qualification is dichotomous in the sense that, on the one hand, it refers to the contents of work and its demands and, on the other, to the characteristics of the employee. Changes in the contents of work can be implemented quickly but the development of the employees' qualifications is a long-term process (Julkunen

1987, 247). It is the latter that is especially meaningful for the qualification potential of highly-educated professionals with relatively independent positions in organizations. These characteristics, often called social qualifications, are essential from the point of view of employers when they choose the key persons for their organizations. For the professionals themselves they are important because with their help they can maintain their competitiveness and improve their own labour market value in view of promotion. Both points of view emphasize the significance of continuing education and generate an increasing demand for adult higher education in universities.

The development of organizations and the changes in work tasks, caused by the application of information technology and the emphasis on service function, for example, lead to the expansion of professional demands and practice beyond the traditional professions. It is typical of continuing education in universities that it produces social qualifications along with, or instead of, technical qualifications to a greater extent than other institutions providing adult higher education. This is one of the basic factors behind its success.

The significance of social qualifications has been emphasized by describing participation in continuing education as a prolonged personality test (Lehtisalo & Raivola 1986, 48) or as a continuing demonstration of one's capacity to develop (Kivinen et al. 1989, 19). There are conflicts between the parties involved with regard to qualifications (Tuomisto 1986, 38–54), and the public and implicit reconciliation of these conflicts is a complex process. The conflicts which may occur between the professionals and their word organizations with regard to qualifications (Tuomisto 1986, 38–54), and the public and implicit reconciliation of these conflicts is a complex process. The conflicts which may occur between the professionals and their work organizations with regard to qualification interests are part of the employment relationship. The terms of this relationship and adjusting these terms have been studied in sociology of work.

Social Contract as the Basis for Employment Relationship

The relationship between an organization and its personnel can be examined through the concept of compliance. An employment relationship in an organization includes different compliances manifested in work orientations, ranging from reluctance and disinterest to full loyalty to the organization and its goals. It is an exchange relationship, based on a partly implicit social contract where the contribution given to an organization and the reward received realize the exchange relationship and the rules of exchange. The management of an organization can control the exchange and the loyalty associated with it by different means (Etzioni 1970, 67–70, Julkunen 1987, 139).

It is easy to see that continuing education is one of the means by which the management of a work organization can attempt to control the exchange relationship between the organization and its personnel and to increase the commitment of the personnel to the goals of the organization. Continuing education is a means of exercising power and control, thus influencing the organizational position of individuals and the development of their careers. Compliance is, however, a more complex phenomenon from the employee's point of view of than, e.g. Etzioni's theoretical ideal types would indicate (Etzioni 1970, 67–71). Working for an organization is basically a financial relationship which is complemented by other factors involved in the social contract. The contents of the contract vary from one employee to another although its framework is confirmed in collective bargaining agreements, for instance. The more education an individual has had and the higher or the more independent his position in the hierarchy of the organization is, the more significant the other factors may become, e.g. independence at work and possibility to get high-quality continuing education, in addition to the amount of salary.

The management of an organization uses continuing education for at least two purposes: on the one hand, to develop the operations of an organization and to increase its profitability and, on the other hand, to create compliance in the personnel. The individual may also use a dual strategy: he accepts the function of maintaining proficiency, typical of continuing education, but he may, despite his loyalty, consider continuing education and the possibilities offered by

it as part of his own success strategy leading to better positions and thus to a termination of contract with his present organization. This situation, recognized by both the parties, may be included in the unmanifested social contract which is the basis of the exchange relationship between the work organization and the highly educated professional.

The above hypothesis of the strategy of the professionals can also be deduced from the analyses of sociological theory (Julkunen 1987, 140–164). The employer tries to generate loyalty among the personnel by many different means, e.g. by improving confidence, by changing the rules and control of work, by increasing the material and social rewards, and by raising proficiency and independence at work. Continuing education is most closely connected with the last two categories. The employee, on the other hand, has an "objective" interest in good and developing work characterized by qualifications, reasonable amount of stress, and a lot of self-determination. This interest does not, however, cover all the sociocultural meanings that the employee operates on in a work organization.

By assigning their own personal meanings to work and their activity in working life, the employees themselves organize their compliance. It is possible for the professionals to set out a lot of conditions for their compliance because of their resources and positions. Their terms and conditions are determined and changed in a more individual and independent way than with the other employee groups. Consequently, the use of continuing education as part of one's own success and survival strategy is typical of and possible for the professionals in independent positions who can control their own continuing education and other conditions and terms of work in an efficient way.

Thus, the basic hypothesis is that the professionals use continuing education to increase their own labour market value and that work organizations recognize this in the implicit social contract that controls the exchange relationship.

When moving from theory to empirical reality, one has to ask many questions. Are there phenomena in the empirical context of continuing professional education in universities that would indicate the existence of social contracts in work organizations?

If there is empirical evidence, what kind of dependences are there in the relationships between the types of organizations, on the one hand, and the positions of the professionals in the organizations and their educational and other backgrounds, on the other? For what purpose is university-based continuing education used in organizations, what do the professionals use it for? To what extent are the amount and quality of continuing education dependent on the characteristics of the organization and what factors determine the professionals' possibilities to control their own continuing education?

Research Problem and Research Data

In this article the focus lies on the relationship of work organizations and professionals participating in continuing education, in the frame of reference of social contract. The purpose is to look for empirical evidence for the assumption that continuing education in universities functions as part of the above-mentioned implicit social contract, as well as for the assumption that the professionals consciously use continuing education as a success and survival strategy.

The research problem is divided into the following empirical sub-problems:

(1) Does the amount of continuing education received vary according to the participant's background variables, education, the type of work organization, or his position in the organization? If it does, in what way?

(2) What kind of attitudes do the employers of the participants have toward continuing education? What factors make it more difficult to participate in continuing education and how are they divided between different personnel groups?

(3) What kind of relationship is there between the participants' willingness to change jobs and the possibilities to receive continuing education? What background or career factors are associated with the relationship between the willingness to change jobs and continuing education?

Thus, the role of continuing education as part of the social contract is empirically examined in this context from three points of view only: the amount of continuing education received, the employer's attitudes, and the correspondence between the opportunities for continuing education and the willingness to change jobs. It is obvious that one can only find suggestions with this type of empirical variables. The main problem is the possible role of continuing education in the professionals' career strategies and the social contract between an organization and its employees. One essential part of the theoretical foundation of the social contract is the fact that the contract is implicit and strongly individual. Thus, to verify it empirically is not simple. The data collected by in-depth interviews, however, offer certain possibilities, complementing the questionnaire data.

The empirical material collected in the research project includes the questionnaire data (n=564) which were collected during a total of 23 continuing professional education courses arranged at the continuing education institutes of the Universities of Jyväskylä and Tampere. The courses covered five educational sectors (social policy and social work, physical education and health care, administration, management education, and journalism). There was a variety of long programmes and short courses. The questionnaire data were collected during the courses and the response rate was 91.4 %. In addition to this, the researchers collected the in-depth interview data (n=34), including the interviews of 1-2 persons per each course.

Roughly half of the respondents (47 %) had a university degree. This percentage varied according to the educational sector so that it was the highest for the sector of social policy and social work (75 %) and the lowest for physical education and health care (16 %). The percentage of university graduates was one fifth or less in seven of the courses, and in three courses all the participants had university degrees. Thus, the educational background varies markedly according to the educational sector and the course.

Nearly two out of five participants work in the private sector and the rest for public employers. Of the participants from the private sector, 43 % had university degrees, while for those coming from the public sector the figure was about 50. Every third respondent had participated in open university educa-

tion. The percentage of women was 62 %. In the sectors of social welfare and health care, four out of five participants were women. In management education, there was a clear majority of men (72 %). The average age was 39 years. One out of ten was under 30 years, and one out of ten over 50 years.

The basic characteristics of the group studied correspond well to the distribution by age and sex of the participants attending courses during the whole year in the Institute for Extension Studies of the University of Tampere. The percentage of university graduates was also nearly the same (47 % vs. 43 %) as in the above-mentioned control group. Corresponding information from the University of Jyväskylä was not available.

Research Findings and Conclusions

a) Participation and Participation Patterns in Continuing Education

A central conclusion associated with adult studies is that the more prior education a person has, the more often he wants further education (e.g. Cross 1981, 15). The Finnish Statistical Office has examined participation in adult higher education for the whole active work force population (Tilastokeskus 1989, Lindström et al. 1989). The data obtained, as well as the conclusions of some other studies suggest that in Finland personnel education accumulates for those who have a better education to start with, for men, for individual with higher incomes, and for those who have the highest or independent positions in the work organizations (Panhelainen & Liljander 1989, Kivinen et al. 1989, 101).

The effect of social background on adult studies has been examined e.g. in Sweden for the whole population. The investigation started from the assumption that a direct connection between social background and adult education activity is too simple as an explanatory model. The effect of social background and education obtained in youth can be seen as a better starting position when moving on to vocational education and the labour market, so that general willingness to study is higher than average in the groups with favourable backgrounds. Whether this willingness is realized later on as active

participation in adult higher education depends on the work organization, other environmental factors (e.g. job satisfaction, the significance of which is different at different stages of the career), and the characteristics of the person in question. A higher than average education in youth is, according to empirical findings, the most significant factor in this respect for those in the middle stage of their careers. Participation in adult higher education, when it is active, produces new market advantages and, in a way, grows an interest on the education obtained in youth. According to resource conversion theory used by researchers, this relative advantage can also be lost by remaining outside adult higher education (Tuijnman & Fägerlind, 1989).

In this data it is possible to compare active participation in continuing education only within the examined population, although variation in the examined group was marked. About half of the respondents had participated in continuing education for 10 or more days during the last three years. The percentage was the same for the private and the public sectors. But the percentage of those who had not participated in continuing education at all during the last three years was twice as high for the private sector as for the public sector (11 % vs. 5 %).

Participants from the private sector, compared with those from the public sector, are more often men, they are younger, and they have shorter employment histories. They have lower professional education, but higher income, and they have less frequently studied in open university. By the type of work organization, there was not a marked difference in the amount of continuing education received, but its sufficiency varied to some extent. The amount of continuing education is felt to be the least sufficient in small public organizations.

Social background or basic education do not have a direct connection with active participation in continuing education. In the whole population men had received somewhat more continuing education during the last three years than women. The same applies to those with longer employment histories. When the level of professional education, length of employment history, and annual income are held constant, the effect of sex disappears except for one feature: if the course fee per day is used as the criterion, men participate in more ex-

pensive courses than women.

The effect of professional education is interesting. First, those without professional education (very few in this study) had received continuing education clearly less than the others. Second, the correlation is not linear among those with professional education, if income level is taken into account as a rough indicator of the person's position in the organization. How an examination or a degree taken at the secondary or higher level relates to active participation in continuing education can be seen in the following table where the income level is held constant.

Table 2. The connection between vocational education and active participation in continuing education in different income brackets

	ANNUAL INCOME (FIM)							
	Under 100.000		100.000 – 129.000		130.000 – 159.000		Over 160.000	
Amount of continuing education during the last three years (course days)	UG %	SE %	UG %	SE %	UG %	SE %	UG %	SE %
0 – 5	58	28	25	21	20	4	6	–
6 – 10	42	30	29	27	22	30	17	9
Over 10	–	42	46	52	58	66	77	91
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(45)	(144)	(72)	(63)	(50)	(23)	(70)	(23)

UG = university graduates
SE = those with professional secondary education

The results illustrated by Table 2 indicate that the income level eliminates the differences in how actively those with secondary level and university level education participate in continuing education. In the present data those with secondary level education seem to be the more active participants in continuing education in every income bracket. Thus, the correspondence be-

tween the educational level and the amount of continuing education would not be linear but curvilinear. Making active use of continuing education seems to be one possible strategy for those with secondary level vocational education when they compete with the "academic professionals" in the labour market.

The data obtained by means of in-depth interviews show that, regardless of their positions in their organizations, the interviewees were relatively unanimous about the fact that members of the management of an organization and persons with special tasks receive more continuing education than others. On the other hand, many interviewees believed that those with a better education, including the above-mentioned groups of personnel, are also more willing than others to participate. Health care organizations are an exception to this general picture: health care practitioners with secondary level vocational education, mainly nurses and other corresponding occupational groups, participate very actively in continuing education.

Continuing education occasionally gives rise to conflicts among the personnel. A psychologist in a big health care organization describes the situation in the following way:

> "... sometimes we have childish discussions about equality and begin to argue about whose work is important. We actually talk about whose work is important. Then in dividing the money reserved for education, our professional group does not cope as well as we should. ... Yes, and who gets the money... Well, it is true that those in the management group, like myself, will get it. One always finds the money somewhere... So that those in the management group in a way get more."

b) Employers' Attitudes Towards Continuing Education

In discussions about educational policy, employers and their representatives emphasize the importance of continuing education for the work organizations and their success. This attitude should, of course, be visible in practice, e.g. in the attitudes towards continuing education and in utilizing the education received by the personnel in the work organizations.

The system of continuing education itself can have structural effects on the distribution of participation. When the adult education system in Sweden was undeveloped and the possibilities were scarce, continuing education largely accumulated for those men who were trying to get better jobs (Tuijnman & Fägerlind 1989, 52). In the present, more developed adult education system participation in continuing education is more widely distributed and the variation of motives has grown. Work and job satisfaction was discovered to be a significant factor in Sweden but its importance varies according to the length of employment history: for the younger persons, dissatisfaction with the work organization is a motive for continuing education, while for those with a longer employment history job satisfaction has the same activating role (Tuijnman & Fägerlind 1989, 63).

It can be assumed that the possibility to participate in continuing education has generally – though not always – a positive effect on job satisfaction. In the present study the opportunities for continuing education were clearly different in the private and the public sectors, as the figures in the following table show.

Table 3. Possibilities to get continuing education among the respondents from the private and the public sectors

Employer's attitude towards continuing education	Private sector %	Public sector %	All %
positive	73	39	52
reserved or negative	17	56	41
other	10	5	7
total	100	100	100
(N)	(204)	(341)	(545)

The difference between the private and the public sectors is partly caused by the very limited in-service education funds that public organizations generally have compared to the willingness of employees to participate in education. In

the private sector, money is seldom the problem. But there is still a clear difference in attitudes, which is illustrated by the fact that participants from the private sector more often than others state that their possibilities to get continuing education have improved during the last few years.

The empirical findings of this study show that, although the possibilities to get continuing education are regarded insufficient by the public sector employees, they use the available educational opportunities more systematically and efficiently than employees in the private sector. One explanation for this is, of course, that when the in-service education budget is small, the money is used more efficiently. Another interpretation is that continuing education in the public sector is felt more closely linked with the current changes in organizations (cost-effectiveness in public administration, decentralized decision-making, etc.) than is the case in the private sector. From the frame of reference of social contract, this may imply that the terms and conditions of the social contract in the private sector are more directly controlled by the professionals themselves and generally shaped in a more individual way than in the public sector.

The picture given by the interview data is largely consistent with the conclusions drawn from the questionnaires: in the public sector continuing education is utilized better than in the private organizations. The data also provide a relatively clear picture of the connection between the way continuing education is used and the participant's position in his organization. Individuals in leading or specialist positions in an organization can satisfy their continuing education interests more freely and individually. Moreover, they are not in the same way as others obliged to pass on the knowledge they have acquired, since this is considered an integral part of leadership position as such. Moreover, in their case, education is regarded as something more personal and individual. The continuing education of non-executive employees is most clearly an instrument of development for the organization in the sense that their in-service education is made use of collectively at the workplace. In the context of the present theoretical frame of reference, this phenomenon supports the hypothesis that professionals in independent positions use continuing education as part of their success strategy and in this sense control their terms of employment more firmly than other personnel.

c) Continuing Education and Willingness to Change Jobs

Teichler has examined a number of empirical European studies on the recruitment of university graduates and the criteria associated with it. He draws the conclusion that features specific to the organization constitute the central factor, not the sector of working life or other organization categories (Teichler 1989, 236). Correspondingly, the role of continuing education and the educational opportunities are assumed to be largely specific to the individual and the organization, and not only to the structural features examined above.

In this section, we shall examine the connections between the possibilities to participate in continuing education and the willingness to change jobs. A person may, of course, have many reasons for changing jobs, but in the following we assume that the continuing education opportunities available in the organization where the person is working have an effect on his willingness to change jobs.

According to the empirical findings of the present study, the willingness to change jobs among those who participate in continuing education in universities is connected with the following characteristics: sex, level of professional education, and income level. Women working in the private sector, university graduates who are younger than others, and generally those with a lower income level are, on average, somewhat more willing to change jobs than the rest. The most crucial factor in this category is, however, the length of employment history. Two out of three persons who had been in working life for less than 10 years intended to change jobs during the next three years, whereas the corresponding figure for those who had longer employment histories was two out of five. Among young respondents, a Higher annual income also seems to be a factor that clearly decreases the willingness to change jobs.

In this study we examined the connection between the willingness to change jobs and the employer's attitude towards continuing education, as well as the sufficiency of educational possibilities at the workplace in general. The employers of those who were willing to change jobs have a somewhat more negative attitude towards continuing education, especially for those with short

employment histories. The situation seemed to be similar with regard to the sufficiency of continuing education opportunities, especially in the case of younger employees, although the differences were relatively small.

Table 4. The correlation between the intention to change jobs and the sufficiency of continuing education opportunities according to the length of employment history

	LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT HISTORY				
	Under 10 years		10 years or more		
	Sufficient opportunities		Insufficient opportunities		
INTENTION TO CHANGE JOBS	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	All %
No int.	45	25	62	52	51
Yes	55	75	38	48	49
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(111)	(71)	(221)	(139)	(542)

In the light of these results, continuing education opportunities would seem to have an effect on the intention to change jobs. However, it is only one of many factors. This correlation was more obvious for younger persons than for those who had advanced farther in their careers. The latter group is attached to their workplace by other acquired benefits and to their place of residence, in particular, to a greater extent than younger persons. As a whole, the opportunity to participate in continuing education or the insufficiency of this possibility are related to the willingness to change jobs. There are many other influential factors, however, such as the length of employment history.

In the data there is an interview with an individual who works in the social sector of a municipal organization. In this interview the possibility to participate in continuing education and the change of jobs were linked together:

"... said that there would be a seminar on audiology and that they had

> not yet been given permission to participate. So she started to phone around, even to the executive bodies, and told them very clearly that if there are no changes in the educational policy, she will start looking for another job... that she is so fed up with always being left out."

There may also be more demands for benefits and gains from continuing education. A department manager in a big municipal organization links this with the use of education and its effects on the terms of employment:

> "... in fact there should be a clear goal or target which this educational programme aims at, and it should also bring along some ... let's say, reward. You should understand reward in a broad sense, it other words, that if I do this, I will get something like that."

A young sales manager in a private company, exceptionally active in continuing education, ponders on the motives of those participating and refers to the existence of the social contract:

> "... it is obvious that people have become more interested in education. I don't know how it is in general ... our education has started from our needs and motives here. We have actually made a deal with our marketing manager ... so that this is, in fact, a part ... he has understood that if these things did not come true, then, well, our motivation would be lower than it is at the moment."

> "... and another reason why I'm interested in continuing education is, at least in our case, that it aims at a certain degree which will perhaps in future give more motivation and opportunities ... we of course try to see the motives and targets of our company, so that they would run parallel; perhaps it will work."

After the interview the respondent told the interviewer that studying for this esteemed degree is taking place "quietly": he does not talk about the potential advantages the degree might bring him with his colleagues who work in similar positions in other departments.

Discussion

Continuing education in universities is, in its current phase of legitimization, characterized by the heterogeneity of the participant groups, a great variation in the course of action and methods, and an unstable position in the action and development strategies of work organizations. However, the legitimization of continuing education is progressing all the time and its status is strengthened both in working life and as part of university activity. The empirical findings of this study serve mainly as hypotheses and suggest what aspects and dependences might be related to this phenomenon. The purpose is, primarily, to survey the variation and to interpret some phenomena using one theoretical frame of reference.

With regard to the first research problem mentioned in this article, the results are interesting: they indicate that the correlation between the level of professional education and participation in continuing education, often thought to be linear, is not self-evident. The sector of working life and certain organization-specific features were found to be intervening factors. The current process of professionalization must also be taken into account. The clearest example of this was seen in the health care sector where the process of professionalization is progressing fast in Finland. Above all, this is illustrated by the birth of nursing science and its legitimization as a university discipline, by the new higher education possibilities created by this development, and by the very intense process of change in the work organizations, already in progress or expected to happen in the near future. The above factors will undoubtedly lead to both real and anticipated competition for work positions among those health care professionals who have received their qualifications through secondary vocational education. The situation in health care needs to be analyzed further: Is the case of health care so different from other areas of working life that it will influence participation in continuing education and, consequently, the distribution of continuing education?

In the framework of the second research problem, the empirical findings indicate that people working in the private sector and professionals in leading or independent positions can use their continuing education more efficiently than others as part of their own success and survival strategies. The above groups

are able to control the terms of their social contracts independently and their terms are determined more individually than those of the rest of the personnel. This conclusion is based on two kinds of empirical findings. First, the management of work organizations in the private sector have a more positive attitude towards continuing education than the management in the public sector. The public sector, on the other hand, utilizes continuing education inside the organization more efficiently, especially with persons in other than leading or specialist positions. The foregoing is the second significant finding in view of the theoretical frame of reference: persons in leading and independent positions use their extensive continuing education more independently and "selfishly" than the rest of the personnel.

The third research problem focused on the relationship between the continuing education opportunities available and the willingness to change jobs. This relationship was seen to describe the status of continuing education in the terms of employment. It also reflects the personnel's perception of continuing education as a useful tool in the labour market competition. In the present data, the willingness to change jobs was related to the respondent's length of work history, the respondent's position in the organization (roughly indicated by income level), as well as to the opportunities for continuing education, as assumed. The individuals with short work histories who considered their own continuing education opportunities insufficient were the most willing to change jobs. The same seemed to apply to employees with long work histories, but less conspicuously.

The fact that individuals with shorter work histories are dissatisfied with their continuing education opportunities can, of course, reflect a more general job dissatisfaction. The results need to be interpreted further in order to assess, how far that is true and, on the other hand, to what extent people who change jobs are looking for better continuing education opportunities in order to improve their value in the labour market competition. The difference in the willingness to change jobs between the dissatisfied young and old can also be interpreted by hypothesizing that for the latter group, active participation in continuing education has become an integral part of their life style, while for the younger, continuing education is more emphatically a tool for building success strategies in the early stages of their careers.

There is also reason to examine how the theoretical frame of reference seemed to function in light of the empirical findings. No definite conclusions can be made on the basis of the empirical findings, but they do give certain indications. In accordance with the theoretical background it was observed that independent professionals with good positions in their work organizations use continuing education to increase their own labour market value. Furthermore, that situation is part of the social contract which regulates the terms of employment, and the employers acknowledge the existence of this social contract, implicitly at least. These circumstances vary from one organization and person to another and, to some extent, according to the sector of labour market. Further analysis is necessary to verify the conclusions in more detail.

It seems obvious that the position and significance of continuing education varies considerably from one work organization and one sector of labour market to another. In addition, continuing education as a means of developing an organization is not necessarily so significant as the public discussion of educational policy and development of working life may seem to imply. Instead, it is evident that the professionals, as well as others who participate in continuing education, take a personal interest in it and that their interest is growing. Consequently, in high level continuing professional education, the proportion of those professionals is increasing who are in a position to control their own terms of employment. Continuing professional education in Finland is expanding not only as a result of interpersonal competition in the labour market, but also because of a greater supply and a more efficient marketing of continuing education services. It is by these means, a greater diversity of programmes and better marketing, that the continuing education centres of Finnish universities, too, have attempted to expand their services over the last few years.

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LIFELONG LEARNING IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

Peter Jarvis

Life is lived within the bounds of time, space and the socio-cultural milieu. People grow-up and die within an historical period and their lifeworlds are signs of the times. Read an historical diary (for example, Seaver, 1985) and realise how much people are products of their time. Talk to people from totally different cultures and realise how much they are products of their culture. Neither learning, then, nor what is learned, can be separated from the social context within which it is learned, and so to address the subject of lifelong learning implies analysing the social situation within which life is lived. This paper seeks to show that, since the contemporary world is one of rapid change and the conditions for learning are very different from those of previous generations, there are now more opportunities to learn, but there is also a certain incentive to seek conditions of security from whence no, or very little, learning can occur (Fromm, 1984).

This paper contains four parts: the first examines briefly the contemporary world; the second part locates the person within it, demonstrating that it is in relationship with the world and with other people that learning occurs; the third section discusses the concepts of learning and non-learning; the final section examines the ideas of reactive and pro-active experience and these are tentatively related to both age and personality.

The Contemporary World

The concept of 'contemporary' is used here rather than that of 'modern' or 'post-modern', because there is no intention of entering the debate about modernism and post-modernism, although the concerns of scholars who write about these themes are similar to those that are expressed here. Society is not

only undergoing rapid social and cultural change, even the underlying ideas of society and culture themselves are being challenged. At the heart of all this change are themes about the loss of the optimistic ideals of the nineteenth century, when modernism was born, with its emphasis on new ideas and ideals, with new forms of social structure and new questions – but now these questions problematize reality itself (Lash, 1990).

Contemporary society is an information society, people are bombarded with information from every source. Little of it seems permanent, for change is the order of the day. The concerns of one day are no longer headlines the following day, and the day after they disappear from the media completely. It is relative information, of passing interest to some but of more significance to others. The knowledge required for the performance of an occupation used to be learned during initial training but now, 'half of what professionals need to know when they finish their formal training will be outdated in less than five years' (Merriam and Caffarella, 1991, p. 15). Nothing seems permanent, change seems endemic and the stability of society appears threatened. And yet many people seem to seek after stability and so there is a growth in authoritarian religions, right-wing politics and managerialism. Society is in a paradoxical state: it is one of rapid change, relativism and instability and yet it is also one within which people seek security, order, stability and little or no change. This, then, is the debate about modernism and post-modernism. But it is also a reflection about a rapidly changing world within which people live and move and have their being. Few people are immune from all the information with which they are presented, few people are unaffected by the changes in technology the alter their work-lives, and even fewer are unaffected by the right-wing political systems that are probably not strong enough to cope with the might of contemporary multinational capitalism, even if they wanted to!

The strength of contemporary technological capitalism has produced a rather one-sided society in which certain values are prevalent over others, certain forms of learning are prized over others; people are expected to keep abreast with all the developments in their work situation but the humanities and the social sciences are relegated to leisure time pursuits; personal growth is encouraged but only for so long as it results in the individual fitting into the world of work and becoming a more effective member of the work force. The

values of efficiency and effectiveness at work are prevalent; wealth-production and economic growth are the ideology of the new right politicians, and the utopian ideals and values of a past age are made to appear outmoded, and 'academic' has assumed the meaning of unproductive. (Habermas, 1976, Young, 1990).

It is difficult to depict such a complex society in a few paragraphs and so this is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of the contemporary Western world; it merely seeks to demonstrate the type of world into which people are born and develop, for this is the world within which people learn and live. It is a world which their learning will reflect in construction of their own life-worlds.

Learning in the Social Context

People cannot grow up isolated from the social world in which they were born, for they are encapsulated within its culture from the time of their conception. It was Mead (Strauss, 1977), above all, who highlighted the relationship between the mind, the self-identity and society. Here he endeavoured to show that through relationships with, initially, significant others, and then more broadly with generalised others, individuals acquire their initial knowledge, which they store away in their brains. Gradually that body of knowledge, develops into a mind which enables individuals to act back upon the world, rather than merely store away that knowledge in their brain. As the mind itself develops, so the person emerges as the possessor of that mind:

> ...there are two general stages in the full development of the self. At the first of these stages, the individual's self is constituted simply by an organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals toward himself (sic) and toward one another in the specific social acts in which be participates with them. But at the second stage in the full development of the individual's self, that self is constituted not only by an organization of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the generalized other or the social group to which he belongs. These social or group attitudes are brought

> within the individual's field of direct experience and are included as elements of the structure or constitution of the self...
> (Strauss, 1976, p. 222.)

Mead's theory of the birth and development of mind and self highlight a number of important points for this argument: no person can be an island; it is through interaction that culture is transmitted from society to individuals through the process of personal interaction; the experience through which this occurs has two modes, one of direct action and sensory experience (primary) and the other is through linguistic interaction (secondary); that both mind and self are learned phenomena and are inextricably intertwined with the prevailing culture of the social group into which an individual is born, so that there is a sense in which people are what they have learned.

Luckmann (1967) also argued that individual selves emerge only when they have internalised the objectivated universe of meaning which is part of their cultural milieu, only after which can they then develop their own meaning system which, in turn, allows them to transcend their biological base. This phenomenological perspective approaches that of Mead's interactionism, indicating a considerable agreement about the process.

It is, perhaps, significant that Habermas (1987) turned to Mead in developing his own theory of communicative action, although he does not emphasise the learning process in quite the same way as does Mead but, then Habermas' primary concern was to focus upon the linguistic and intersubjective processes through which the person is socialised.

In contrast, Jarvis (1987) developed this Meadian perspective into a full theory of learning within which he showed that there are variety of forms of learning and, significantly, non-learning, that may occur as a result of any experience. Experience, however, may be located at the intersection of the individual consciousness with the socio-cultural milieu and this occurs through two modes – those of direct sensory experience and action (primary experience) and linguistic interaction (secondary experience), further reference to both of these will be made later in this paper. However, the significance of this discussion lies in the fact that both mind and self are relative and

reflect the social context within which they emerge. Moreover, they are, themselves, learned phenomena and they continue to change and develop during the process of learning throughout the whole of the lifetime or, at least, for as long as individuals have conscious experience.

Learning, then, is always contextual and to isolate it from its social context as some psychological experiments have done is to artificialise it; indeed, it is to remove from it some of its crucial variables. However, it is now necessary to explore the process of learning in greater detail.

The Processes of Learning

Learning must always begin with experience of living and, consequently, some of those approaches to learning which adopt the title experiential learning are perhaps too all-embracing. Try to think about any form of learning that is not experiential!! Consequently, learning may be defined in terms of experience and it is suggested here that it is the process of transforming experience into knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and so on. Learning is always a process of transforming experience, but experience occurs through the process of living and is always related to the sosio-cultural milieu within which the learners live. However, not every experience is a learning one – some can be non-learning ones and there are, in fact, a variety of learning and non-learning responses to experience. But not every experience of learning is a conscious one, as the idea of pre-conscious learning suggests. The following diagram depicts nine possible responses to experience, in terms of learning, and the final three can have two totally different outcomes.

A Typology of Learning

Non-Learning	Presumption Non-Consideration Rejection
Non-Reflective Learning	Pre-Conscious Skills Memorisation
Reflective Learning	Contemplation Reflective Skills Experimental Knowledge

(Only in the reflective learning situations can the outcomes be either innovative or conformist, in the remainder they are always conformist)

This typology has been fully developed elsewhere (Jarvis, 1987) but the important factor here is that these approaches to learning are all related to the experience of living. For instance, presumption, which is the process whereby individuals may presume that the world has not changed and may, therefore, act accordingly. Schutz and Luckamann (1974, p. 7) write about this form of behaviour:

> I trust the world as it has been known by me up until now will continue further and that consequently the stick of knowledge obtained from my fellow-men (sic) and formed from my own experiences will continue to preserve its fundamental validity... From this assumption follows the further and fundamental one: that I can repeat my past successful acts. So long as the structure of the world can be taken as constant, as long as

> my previous experience is valid, my ability to operate upon the world in this and that manner remains in principle preserved.

This is a significant form of behaviour because it reflects a situation where people can take for granted their situation, and the meaning that they ascribe to it, and act almost unthinkingly in the world, whatever that situation happens to be. The two other forms of non-learning relate to situations which are potential learning ones but, for one reason or another, individuals prefer not to act and so that do not consider the potential learning experience that their situation offers, or else they are aware of it but reject it. One thing all of these three non-learning situations have in common is that the outcome of the situation is one in which the social situation within which the individuals live is undisturbed by their failure to learn, but there is a difference – in presumption and non-consideration the potential learners remain unchanged as a result of their actions because they have not even began to think about them. However, there is at least a possibility that the potential learners have thought about the situation in rejection and decided that they did not wish to learn, and this is a situation which might produce some small internal change in them.

That there is no outward effect upon the socio-cultural milieu is also true of the three non-reflective forms of learning because by their very nature all that has occurred is that individuals have internalised the structures (behaviour patterns, values, skills, knowledge, and so on) of their socio-cultural milieu and reflect them in their own thoughts, actions and so on. This is also true of the three forms of reflective learning in which the outcome is conformity, although in the latter three the possibility of outward change always exists. However, in all of these six forms the learners themselves have changed, they have learned or had their previous learning reinforced, and so they may respond to new situations in a different manner to those who have not learned at all.

In contrast to this, innovative reflective learning means that new knowledge, skill, attitudes, values and so on, have been acquired and the outcome of this is that there will almost certainly always be different behavioural outcomes, although it has to be conceded that there are situations where discretion is the better part of valour and individuals act in a conformist manner, even in op-

position to what they have learned about the way that they should act. However, when the learners do act differently they will have an effect in subsequent interaction and so gradually changes in structures in the immediate world will begin to occur. But there is another factor, that changed behaviour is risk-taking behaviour, because it creates unknown situations. The persons with whom the learners are interacting can themselves no longer take the situation for granted, they can no longer presume upon their worlds because they have been placed in a new potential learning situation.

It may, therefore, be seen that the relationship between individuals and social structures, (which is usually still a relationship between individuals), determines the extent to which the situations are potential learning situations. If there is complete harmony between individuals' own life-worlds, that is their individual biographies, and their socio-cultural milieu, then they are enabled to act upon the world unthinkingly. This is the situation of presumption when there is no disjuncture. By contrast, if there is disjuncture between their biographies and their experiences then a potential learning situation occurs, so that it is now necessary to examine the relationship between experience and the socio-cultural milieu.

Pro-active and Re-active Experience and the Socio-Cultural Milieu

Potential learning situations are those when there is disjuncture between the people's biographies and their experience of the social-cultural milieu within which they live. This disjuncture can occur in either primary or secondary experience: in primary experience the situation itself is new and in secondary experience the situation being described linguistically is new. Hence, individuals are confronted with situations in which they have to learn in order to re-establish harmony between their biographies and the experiences that they have of the socio-cultural milieu. However, that socio-cultural milieu is changing at a most rapid rate in contemporary society and so the potentiality of disjuncture between individuals' biographies and their experience increases, which in its turn means that people, without doing anything themselves, are continually being placed in potential learning situations to which they have to re-act. New information, new situations, new behaviour patterns, different

approaches to situations, a variety of problems all occur and confront people. They are forced to respond, they can reject the opportunity or they may be unable to respond for a variety of other reasons and then non-learning has occurred. In some situations the failure to respond might not be because of inclination but because they are too busy, etc., but there are clearly some people who prefer to retain the status quo. There is a sense in which Fromm (1984) is correct and some people fear freedom. By contrast, there are others who may merely seek to adapt to those changes in a non-reflective manner and so, while they learn, their learning is non-reflective in nature. But some people may seize upon the new experiences, think about them, experiment with them and so on and then some form of reflective learning occurs.

Three types of response can be seen here: the conventionalists, the adapters and the risk-takers. The conventionalists are those who would prefer not to change and who do, therefore, have a tendency to reject potential learning opportunities in order to retain the status quo. These may be the types of person who are responding to the rapid social change by joining fundamentalist religious groups, conservative political parties, and so on, seeking legitimation for their position. The adapters are those who are more likely to respond to external change by seeking to re-establish the harmony between the socio-cultural milieu are their own biography by modifying their behaviour and learning in a non-reflective manner. By contrast, the reflective learners are those who are more prepared to be more adventurous and respond to new situations in new ways and even to respond in an individual and creative manner to new situations. Naturally, everybody responds to different situations differently, and so it would be wrong to think of individuals who are always conventionalists, and so on, although there may be a preponderance of one form of response by individuals which might well relate to personality, age, education or position in the social structure, etc.

This approach has certain implications which need to be highlighted before this argument proceeds further: reflective learning and innovative responses might always be the types of response to change that educators consider to be the most laudable form of response. However, it would be unwise to think that this is the way that others look to learning; indeed, it should be remembered that the organization man (Whyte, 1957) is far from a risk-taker, and so that

employers may seek the adapter in preference to the risk-taker, and so on. Bureaucracies usually seek adapters. At the same time, this typology is similar to that proposed by Argyris and Schon (1974) as Model I learning. In contrast, Model II is closer to the risk-taker.

Risk-taking lies at the heart of pro-active learning because in these situations the learners take the initiative, create new experiences from which they can learn. They may be seeking to fulfil an ambition, a desire or a need – but the upshot is that their actions create new situations in which there is a disjuncture between the experiences and the biographies and then learning usually occurs, and it can be either reflective or non-reflective, although there may be a tendency for some form of reflective learning to occur in these instances. Having outlined a theory of learning in the world, it is now necessary to expand it and to consider the idea of lifelong learning.

From the foregoing discussion it is perhaps clear that human beings are the result of their own learning; their lives are bounded by time and for some of it they can act presumptively upon the world and time seems to flow. They are in harmony with their world – whether the world is a good one is another question – and they can act upon the world barely conscious of the passing of time. Sometimes, however, they become conscious of disjuncture between them and their world, they are conscious of time and experience. It is in, and from, these moments that they can learn and grow and develop. People live in a world which is changing more rapidly than ever before in history and so they are bound to be confronted with more opportunities to learn. They are, in a sense, more free because fewer aspects of their lives contain 'the sacred tradition' that does not change, and yet people fear that freedom. In a sense people live in a risk society where they have to respond to change, or even to take the initiative in creating change. As people age, so they may not be prepared to take such risks, but rather remain within the confines of a world that they know and understand. They appear to others as conservative and unwilling to change – but perhaps their very conventionalism points to the fact that all change is not necessarily good and that there are times when people need an unchanging environment.

Conclusion

The learning society is a reality – but it is a society in which lifelong learning rather than lifelong education occurs. Many things are changing at tremendously rapid speeds, indeed change is endemic, and people are being forced to respond. As they learn, so they grow and develop but perhaps there comes a time when people come to terms with themselves and reach the stage of ego-integrity when they no longer need or seek to learn (Erikson, 1965) and they can then disengage from the rapidly changing world and live in harmony with themselves.

Learning, then, is that process through which people grow and develop throughout the whole of their lives, for the human being is a learning, reflecting and growing animal. When people think that they have the truth, they no longer feel the need to learn and towards the end of life when people come to terms with themselves they too can have the same experience. For many, however, they seek still to learn and so they look forward and continue to grow and develop – for learning can last for as long as life, and learning lies at the very heart of life itself.

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THEORIES OF SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AND MULTIPROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Matti Parjanen

Introduction

Those involved in the practice of education frequently express their amazement at the great interest that the public media and the political decision-makers show in educational issues. In the newspapers and magazines the letters to the editor pages are filled with emotional writings about the problems of the educational institution. Pedagogues and educational psychologists have tried to find explanations to this situation from inside the school. On the other hand, it has been obvious to sociologists of education since the days of Emile Durkheim, the father of this discipline, that education as a social institution is closely related to the surrounding society, and to its political and economic institutions. In other words, the important role of education in society explains why educational problems and issues remain topical. Consequently, multiprofessional education in health sciences is no exception in this respect. Its problems are not only pedagogical or psychological; in fact, the theories and methods of sociology of education could have a great deal to contribute here. In the following I shall briefly summarize some of these theories which might be considered to have a connection with multiprofessional education; however, I shall not touch upon empirical research results.

Professionalism and Multiprofessional Education

In sociology, research on professions has gained popularity, especially in the 1980's. Two different trends have evolved: the advocates of the trait model and the functionalists have generally agreed that professions have certain typical characteristics. The criticism of these trends has produced the Neo-

Weberian approach (Konttinen 1989). In all, there must be dozens of definitions for profession. Millerson (1964), in fact, has listed as many as 23 such criteria. There is not one fundamental element, however, that would be shared by all the researchers. Hesse (1972, 46) arrived at his own conclusion by cross-tabulating 16 characteristics of profession and 25 researchers. The Finnish researcher Julkunen (1991, 76), basing his work on the Swedish Beckman (1989), has divided these dozens of traits used by different researchers into four major groups characterizing professions:

1. **characteristics and traits**
   - a long theoretical education
   - theoretical competence
   - a systematic and abstract knowledge base the generation of which is controlled by the profession itself
   - high professional ethics and altruism
   - neutrality in the client-professionalist relationship and equality of service
   - complete trust between the professionalist and the client
   - career

2. **functions set to the system by professions**
   - production of specialized and developed services
   - transferring and applying theoretical knowledge to practice
   - creating "moral glue" to hold together the modern

3. **the relationship of professions and the environment**
   - autonomy
   - high status and material rewards
   - professional organization
   - internal collegial control
   - sanctioned authority
   - acknowledged expertise

4. **the strategies used by professions with the aim of reaching professional status**
   - knowledge and professional monopoly
   - exclusiveness
   - authorization
   - registration and licences
   - stipulations about examinations, degrees and qualifications
   - esoteric knowledge and the mystery of knowledge.

According to the theory of pattern variables established by the sociologist Parsons, the classic of function theory, an individual is related to his environment either cognitively, i.e. basing his action on knowledge, or catechistically, i.e. emotionally or evaluatively (Parsons 1951, 88–112). According to this theory, **caring and profession are in contrast to each other in their normative structure**. The caregiver is emotionally committed to the caring relationship and the recipient of care. He/she is totally involved. The caregiver's own status is not based on achievement but, for example, on age or sex or, if she is female, on her role as wife, mother or daughter. A professionalist, in contrast, has achieved his/her status by himself/herself: the status is not a birth right nor is it taken for granted. Professional service is standardized: in principle, the client/patient receives the same service from every competent professionalist. Caring and profession are also culture-related. Ungerson (1990), for example, has noted that the British concept of caring is more narrow than the Scandinavian one; typically, the British concept also distinguishes strictly between the private and the public. In Western thinking emotion and reason are generally contrasted; in addition, these concepts are often gender-related.

Even though the normative structures of caring and profession are thus in contrast to each other, everyday life in many cases is something different. Prototype "errors" are probably very common in the practice of health care.

How are the traits of caring and profession visible in the multiprofessional education of health care, and are these traits in conflict with each other?

The first problem in multiprofessional education has to do with **knowledge**. It is obvious that the conception of knowledge varies from one profession to another. In part, this results from education, but partly it is something people learn in their working life. The more formalized and standardized the knowledge base is, the more clearly it is depersonalized and labelled as objective, true and reliable. Traditionally, a sign of profession is the tendency to monopolize knowledge and make it into the "truth". Professional knowledge is closely associated with legitimizing the knowledge by means of diplomas, certificates and exclusive licences. In this kind of specialist system it is essential that **knowledge is difficult to attain and certainly not available to just anybody**.

Julkunen (1991, 80) summarizes the knowledge base of caring as follows: "The knowledge of caring is not built into a systematic and abstract body of knowledge, you cannot achieve qualifications for caring by means of degrees or examinations, and it contains no licences. Caring and the knowledge upon which it is based have not been monopolized, and there are no organized structures for conveying that knowledge. The learning processes are personal and individual; **the knowledge of caring is not abstract and cannot be learnt from books**."

In addition to lawyers, architects and engineers, the physicians are always quoted as a typical example of a profession which meets the many criteria of profession. The examples taken from caring, on the other hand, mostly come from outside organized professional groups and are related to a socially produced gender. When we think of professions which are essentially based on the ideology of caring, the most typical example that comes to mind is the profession of nursing. If we today continue to emphasize this type of ideology, it leads us to conclude that **the professions of physician and nurse have, at least up to now, been different in character as far as professionalism and caring are concerned**.

It has not been necessary to take into account the above distinction in the specialized basic education of these professions; the fundamental feature of multiprofessional education, however, is that it provides the same education for practitioners working in a variety of health care professions, regardless of

how the profession in question relates to professionalism. To take into account all these "approaches", we should reject a wider application of the pedagogical method commonly used in multiprofessional continuing education, i.e. **dividing the students on the courses into groups according to profession**. When the students' attitudes towards this division has been studied in the University of Tampere, for example, the written evaluations of the multiprofessional courses show that physicians clearly want their own specialized education more than the other health care professionals who often look on shared studies as the best part of the programme despite the different educational and knowledge backgrounds. It may be that such a division into groups is only done **to facilitate** the work of the teacher or **to please** particular groups of students. These both are such **myths of continuing education** that we should indeed fight (Parjanen 1985).

On the other hand, we can ask **whether the idea of profession and caring can be combined**. Julkunen (1991, 82) sees that women's studies could provide answers to this question with the help of the concept of "mothering". After all, culturally caring has in general been defined as feminine. In many countries, however, the majority of physicians today are women. In Finland 56 % of medical students and 95 % of health science students are women. Over the last five years, the majority of students in the administrative multiprofessional health care education of the Institute for Extension Studies at the University of Tampere have also been women (54 %). This kind of gender structure, rather than changed attitudes, might eventually lead to a situation in which profession and caring will come closer to each other.

Table 1 depicts some other structural features of the Finnish multiprofessional continuing education which is typically dominated by male physicians, female nurses, individuals who already have university degrees, and middle-aged people.

Table 1. Multiprofessional continuing training in health care administration at the Institute for Extension Studies, University of Tampere, 1986–91.

Occupation	Male %	Female %	100 %
Physicians	58	42	(862)
Other health care	4	96	(252)
Others (managers, planning staff, etc.)	47	53	(107)
Total	46	54	(1221) *

	Age				
Occupation	– 35 %	35 – 39 %	40 – 44 %	45 – %	100 %
Physicians	12	27	30	31	(862)
Other health care	6	21	39	34	(252)
Others (managers, planning staff, etc.)	10	25	37	27	(107)
Total	11	26	32	31	(1221) *

Educational background	%
University education	77
Others	20
No information	3
Total (100 %)	(1221)*

*) Same person could participate in 1–6 of 39 courses.

How about bringing profession and caring closer together in a systematic and goal-oriented way with the help of training organizations and individual

teachers? Once again Emile Durkheim, the classic of sociology, can help us conceptually. He developed his **theory of division of labour in society** over a hundred years ago. One form of division of labour is abnormal (anormal), manifesting itself as **forced division of labour** (division du travail contrainte) (Durkheim 1978, 343–390). Kivinen (1984, 14) sees that the internal collaboration between the health care professions specifically refers to forced collaboration. Strong professions which have fully internalized their ideals of profession are incapable of spontaneous co–operation and solidarity; instead, they have to operate within a mechanistic, hierarchical and bureaucratic system which is unable to lead or control itself. This is especially true of large hospitals in which both work and education related specialization is increasing. In his time Durkheim believed that abnormal forms of the division of labour would disappear with the unity of different professional groups. It seems, however, that **professionalism has been a barrier to meaningful and reasonable co–operation and solidarity**. This leads me to ask, whether multi–professional continuing education requires mutual solidarity even from the students who represent the different professions, or whether education in reality functions perfectly well without any such solidarity.

The ideology of "Centre of Excellence" – an advantage or a disadvantage?

Including the above ideology of caring in multiprofessional education which emphasizes professionality naturally brings to mind **the goals of modern nursing science**. On the one hand, it is commonly claimed that the worst barrier to multiprofessional education is the burden of the tradition of medical education and the physician culture involved in it. In this discussion people usually refer to the Flexner report published in the USA at the beginning of this century. This report has provided the foundation for the medical education of most Western countries. The report emphasized the scientific approach to medicine. Medical faculties should be "Centers of Excellence". This ideology added to the self esteem of physicians and helped their profession grow in strength so that it now meets all the criteria of a true profession mentioned above.

It seems that instead of trying to eliminate this school of "Centre of Excellence", the representatives of nursing science often want to adopt the same ideology. They expect it to generate the same kind of development and self esteem for nursing science and nursing profession as has happened in the medical profession over the last 80 years.

Will this trend slow down the development of multiprofessional education? It is obvious that the homogeneity of the participating groups – in this context the professionality of nurses and other health care practitioners – could bring with it some pedagogical advantages. It is always easier for a teacher to address an audience which adheres to the same ideology. However, the ideology of caring, as I pointed out earlier, could not be included, if all the students were impregnated with professionalism. In this respect, **it seems to me that the goals of nursing are in conflict with the idea that the students' heterogeneity could be made use of in multiprofessional education both pedagogically and ideologically**.

Legitimization theory

Legitimization theory refers to either official or social accreditation. This theory is of great importance in Finland both in general and continuing education. In our country education is almost one hundred per cent state controlled. Most posts in public administration, for example, have officially legitimized qualifications which the candidates must meet. This does not mean, however, that the state and the municipalities would control **the content** of education in public administration. An interesting feature is that the private sector, which so far has had no authority in the legitimization of education, has nevertheless been able to influence the content of management education, for example. This seemingly contradictory phenomenon is explained by two theoretical concepts: **exchange-value and use-value**.

By exchange-value we refer to a situation in which the student studies only with the aim of getting a degree. The certificate awarded will ensure, firstly, his status which is thus socially legitimized by the surrounding society. The status may be high or low, depending on the social and/or cultural develop-

ment, economic situation and even images (which may even be distorted). Secondly, the individual's education may be officially legitimized by various stipulations, possibly quite irrespective of its social legitimization. For example, the individual may be the only physician among those who have applied for the position of director of city health administration. The qualification required for this post is a degree in medicine. In this case those involved in the selection process would be obliged to appoint this particular applicant, even if it were common knowledge that, as an individual, he is a very poor leader. It is also well-known that the education of a physician does not include courses in organization leadership. The degree in medicine has thus provided our physician with exchange-value: he will exchange his education to a position and a job. One of the other applicants may quite well have a university degree in management, as well as work experience in this area. His education would have use-value, since the content of his education and the job description correspond to each other. Yet the official requirements of legitimization – often with historical or unionist roots – make it judicially impossible to appoint this last mentioned applicant to the post.

In Finland, like in many other Western countries, a kind of change of values is going on at the moment (I would not call it a revolution, though). Increasingly harder economic competition has brought to Europe some values of the Wild West, such as individualism, often associated with the desire to break down old models and systems which have been directed from top down (even though they have been democratic). In practice this means reducing the above official qualification requirements; in other words, a job or a post is given to the candidate who apparently has the socially required qualities, disregarding the horizontal level of his education. The vertical level will remain; that is, university education will continue to have a higher status than a college level education, irrespective of what the actual teaching content in the educational institution has been.

What does legitimization theory and its use-value and exchange-value mean in multiprofessional education? Obviously it means that students in multiprofessional education will in the future, too, be dependent on the value system of the school and working life. Multiprofessional continuing education should repair the mistakes made by earlier education by emphasizing the use-

value rather than the exchange-value. Education focusing on use-value contains the idea that students, men and women, of different ages and from different educational and professional backgrounds would make use of this diversity which brings with it innovation and creativity as well as improved staff relationships. In education which focuses on a single profession we often come across mutual competition among the students who want to achieve distinction. An individual student wants to ensure that in the competition for a new job or position he will be well ahead of the others. In multiprofessional education distinction is no longer important.

The problems of legitimization may have the effect that students in multiprofessional continuing education, too, wish to earn **additional** diplomas on top of their earlier degrees or qualifications. This way their studying would be more goal-oriented which, according to research results, increases their motivation. Official state controlled legitimization would have many harmful consequences. It would indeed be beneficial for the development of multiprofessional education to keep it outside the restricting general systems. In fact, unofficial, social legitimization would be desirable since it would also add to the students' motivation.

The theory of exclusiveness

As the closed sector of society (public administration) is losing its hold of education, market mechanisms of the open sector, typical of the USA, are gaining more importance in the education policy of the Scandinavian social welfare states. In practice this means that education will no longer be free, and that continuing education will be bought, sold, marketed and advertised. Here we talk about education becoming **a commodity** (Parjanen 1990). Competition is increasing in education, too. Education has to attract students by offering them a chance to raise their status in the eyes of other people. In adult education we talk about **theories of status or exclusiveness** which mean that by means of education – just like with material goods – it would be possible to **distance oneself from one's close environment**. This could happen especially in such areas of education that have a shortage of student places. In many countries it is the physician's education that – in addition to its "Centre

of Excellence" background mentioned above – is typically very difficult to enter; in other words, it is exclusive. The limited number of student places, or

exclusiveness, brings with it prestige and status which can be increased even further by means of professionalism described earlier.

In many countries multiprofessional education in health sciences, too, faces the rigid laws of market mechanisms. If the number of students who want to participate in continuing professional education in this field exceeds the number of student places, it is quite possible that course organizers will take advantage of this situation and charge higher fees than before. This, in turn, will lead to certain economic, social and regional distortions, as well as distortions related to professional and educational backgrounds. Also, from the perspective of pedagogics and education policy, the structure of the student body participating in multiprofessional continuing education would be wrong.

Some current problems in adult education

I shall next list briefly some of the current problems of adult education, especially with reference to vocational or professional continuing education.

a) The research of **the effectiveness** of adult education – and of other education, too – has not managed to solve the methodological problems related to this area. The fact that a classical experimental design cannot be used is still a problem unsolved as is the elimination of intervening variables.

b) Replacing teacher-centred instruction by **telematic** or computer-aided instruction is one of the greatest challenges for education in the near future. In multiprofessional education, too, microcomputers and multiform and multimedia teaching, not limited to any specific time or place, will be very useful. In Canada, for example, the Telemedicine Centre of Toronto already provides interactive health care education for 115 hospitals, health centres and schools in different parts of Ontário.

c) More or less related to the above is the problem of **the didactics** of adult education. Its progress has been very modest indeed. We must remember that university students are adult students as well. In Finland, for example, 19 % of first year students are over 24 years of age. These "adult" students account for 55 % of all students, while the corresponding percentage for medical students is 65 % and that for health science students as high as 93 %. We could even go as far as to claim that new teaching methods, potentially useful and indeed relevant, are not at all readily adopted by university teachers whose pedagogic skills are frequently quite poor or outdated. The best results have been achieved in experiments of recurrent work and study. The most recent educational applications include **contract training** between educational institutions and work organizations (firms, in particular) and **independent studies** as part of it. The researchers who try to reform education policy and pedagogics have coined a number of terms which originate from this new trend of independent studies, such as open learning, supported self-study, autonomous learning, negotiated learning, experiential learning, contract learning, learner designed projects and action learning.

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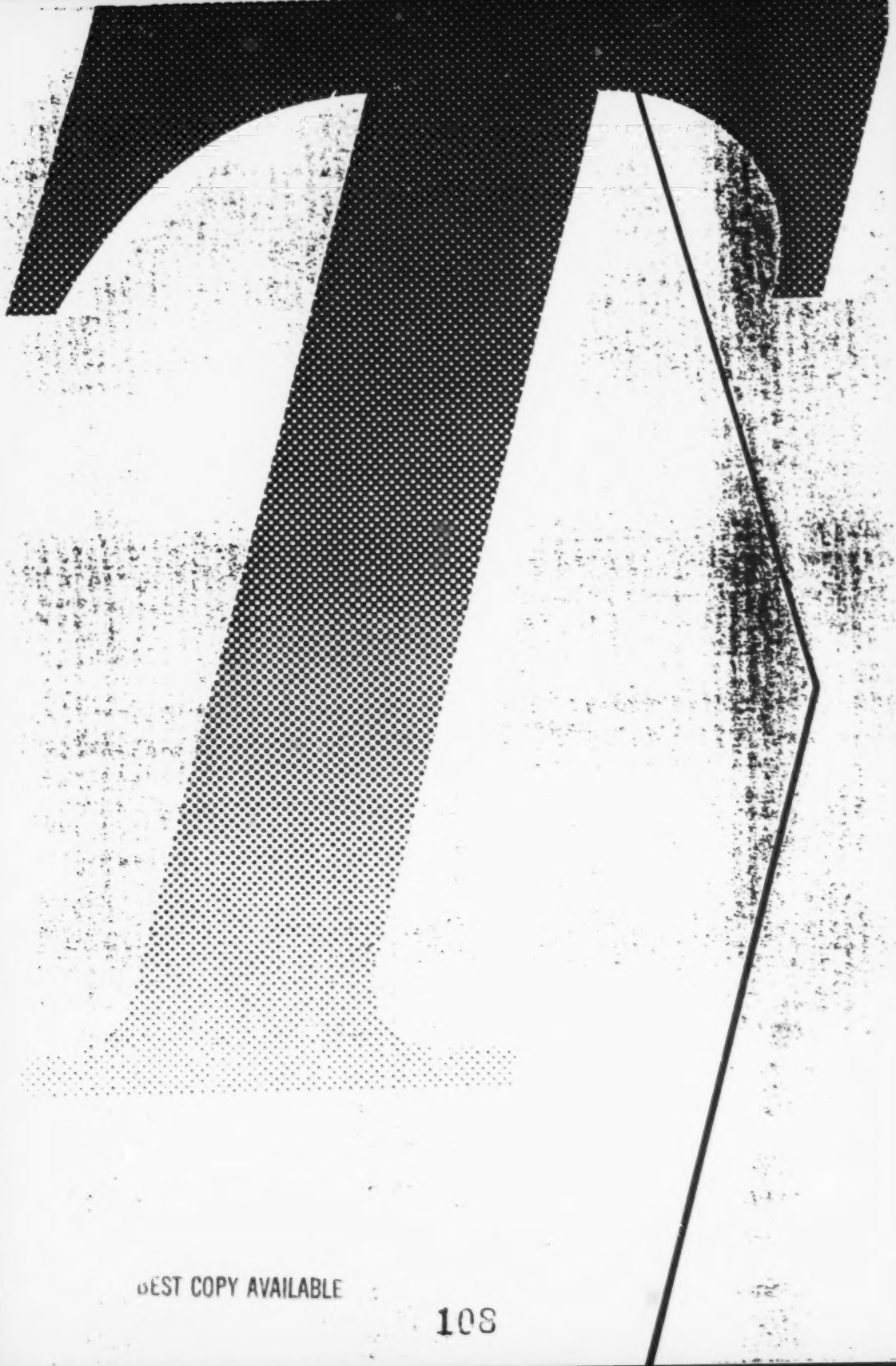

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